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ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWO THOUSAND
NINE HUNDRED AND FORTY-SEVENTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Tuesday, 9 October 1990, at 10.30 a.m.

President:	Sir David HANNAY	(United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland)
Members:	Canada	Mr. FORTIER
	China	Mr. LI Daoyu
	Colombia	Mrs. CASTAÑO
	Côte d'Ivoire	Mr. ANET
	Cuba	Mr. ALARCON de QUESADA
	Ethiopia	Mr. TADESSE
	Finland	Mr. TÖRNUDD
	France	Mr. BLANC
	Malaysia	Mr. REDZUAN
	Romania	Mr. MUNTEANU
	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	Mr. VORONTSOV
	United States of America	Mr. PICKERING
	Yemen	Mr. AL-ASHTAL
	Zaire	Mr. BAGBENI ADEITO NZENGEYA

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The meeting was called to order at 11.15 a.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION IN THE OCCUPIED ARAB TERRITORIES

LETTER DATED 26 SEPTEMBER 1990 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF YEMEN TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/21830)

The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decisions taken at the previous meetings on this item, I invite the representatives of Algeria, Israel, Jordan, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Tunisia and Yugoslavia to take the seats reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber. I invite the representative of Palestine to take a seat at the Council table.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Bendjama (Algeria), Mr. Bein (Israel), Mr. Salah (Jordan), Mr. Treiki (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), Mr. Ghezal (Tunisia) and Mr. Silovic (Yugoslavia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber; Mr. Terzi (Palestine) took a place at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Bangladesh, Egypt, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and the Syrian Arab Republic in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Mohiuddin (Bangladesh), Mr. Moussa (Egypt), Mr. Kharrazi (Islamic Republic of Iran), Mr. Kadrat (Iraq), Mr. Al-Sabah (Kuwait), Mr. Shihabi (Saudia Arabia) and Mr. El-Fattal (Syrian Arab Republic) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter dated 8 October 1990 from the Permanent Representative of Kuwait to the United Nations, which reads as follows:

"I have the honour to request that the Security Council extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to His Excellency Mr. Abdulmalek Ismail Mohamed, Chargé d'affaires, Office of the Permanent Observer of the League of Arab States to the United Nations, during the Council's discussion of the item 'The situation in the occupied Arab territories'."

That letter has been published as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/21852. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 to His Excellency Mr. Ismail.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

(The President)

The Security Council will now resume its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The first speaker is the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Kuwait. I invite His Excellency to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. AL-SABAH (Kuwait) (interpretation from Arabic): Mr. President, on behalf of the Arab Group, which Kuwait has the honour of chairing this month, I should like to congratulate you as you preside over the work of the Council for this month and wish you every success in your lofty task. Your experience and skill are well-known to all members. It also gives me great pleasure to extend our gratitude to the Permanent Representative of the Soviet Union for the manner in which he conducted the affairs of the Security Council last month, a period which witnessed accomplishments related to world peace and security.

The Palestinian people fell victim yesterday, in Holy Jerusalem, to a horrendous crime that has shocked the Arab and Islamic worlds and threw a challenge to the conscience of the whole world. As a matter of fact, that crime is just another episode in the ongoing criminality of Israel against the Palestinian people. The escalating tempo of such acts is designed to break the will of that people, suppress its brave resistance and deprive it of its rights. Its ultimate aim is to force the Palestinian people to leave their homes so that they may be replaced by foreign settlers. This is the nature of occupiers everywhere.

The military might of Israel has claimed tens of our innocent Palestinian brethren who were killed over the past two days. Those victims have committed no crime. Their only crime was that, quite spontaneously, they tried to defend one of the oldest shrines of Islam. This is a religious duty. They tried to protect that shrine with their bare hands, their vulnerable bodies and their pious hearts. They had no weapons of whatever sort. They were protecting shrines that are sacred to

(Mr. Al-Sabah, Kuwait)

Moslems the world over. Their only defence was the common belief in the sanctity of those shrines. The sons of the Palestinian people defended those religious sentiments against a wave of extremist Zionists who have been desecrating those shrines for a long time.

For us, the people of Kuwait, our indignation at the enormity of this new crime and the need to face up to it acquire an added importance, at a time when His Highness Sheih Al-Sabah, the Emir of Kuwait chairs the fifth session of the Islamic Summit. The world must not stand powerless while Israel suppresses the unarmed Palestinian people and desecrates one of the holiest sites of Islam.

We, in Kuwait, when we speak of the inhuman Israeli practices against the sons of the Palestinian people, know full well the bitter taste of what that unarmed people suffers under occupation. We feel this bitterness because, in our own country, we experience a similar situation. The Kuwaiti people is subjected to inhuman practices, which fly in the face of all international norms and laws, at the hands of the forces of the Iraqi régime that has committed aggression against Kuwait, occupied its soil and caused the Kuwaiti people all sorts of suffering.

That is why, we in Kuwait, call for an immediate end to the Israeli practices and the protection of the Palestinian people. Our call is prompted by the similar ongoing experience of our unarmed Kuwaiti people - whose only weapon is their belief in the justice of their cause that is supported by the whole world.

I should like to address the Palestinian people, through the Security Council, and assure them that, regardless of the bitterness and cruelty of our own experience under a similar brutal occupation, we shall never let the Palestinian people down in its plight. This is how we are in Kuwait and we shall never change.

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(Mr. Al-Sabah, Kuwait)

What took place yesterday was a double crime. Brutal force was used against unarmed civilians and the holy places of the Islamic nation have been desecrated. This dangerous development makes it necessary for me to ask the Council, in the name of the Arab group, to do the following:

First, to strongly condemn this criminal act by an Israeli group that behaved rashly outside the boundaries of the law;

Secondly, to call upon Israel, the occupying Power, to desist forthwith from these practices against the unarmed Palestinian people;

Thirdly, to call upon Israel to provide full protection and respect for all the Islamic Holy Places in Jerusalem. Such practices cannot be accepted under any pretext;

Fourthly, to send a fact-finding mission to the occupied Palestinian land to investigate these inhuman practices and report on them; and

Fifthly, international protection should be provided to the Palestinian people under occupation.

The Security Council, in considering this grave question, should be consistent with its just and firm stand against the injustice and suppression that befall any people when it falls victim to aggression. Let us try today to take action that would be balm to the wounds of the unarmed Palestinian people and shore up its steadfastness in facing up to the aggressive usurper.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Kuwait for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. BAGBENI ADEITO NZENGEYA (Zaire) (interpretation from French): I have had the opportunity to congratulate you informally, Mr. President, but I should like to avail myself of the occasion of this formal session to express to you my delegation's pleasure at seeing you presiding over the work of the Council for the month of October and to assure you of our co-operation. We are sure that your mandate will be a successful one.

I should also like to compliment and congratulate your predecessor, Ambassador Vorontsov of the Soviet Union, for the clear-sighted and wise manner in which he conducted the Council's proceedings during the difficult month of September as it dealt with the current Gulf crisis.

Once again, the Council is considering with concern the situation in the occupied Palestinian territories. Last May, in Geneva and New York, the Council went into an exhaustive consideration and detailed study of the question, and we even had the privilege of hearing a statement by President Yasser Arafat, the uncontested leader of the Palestinian people, as well as statements by all the members of the Council and by the many delegations that took part in that special meeting.

Constructive proposals were put forward at that meeting on 25 May 1990, but they have not been acted upon. Nevertheless, they are still as relevant as ever, if we are truly desirous of putting an end to the hatred, the lack of understanding and the abusive use of force that make up the daily catalogue of events that are tearing apart this region of the Middle East.

The massacres that occurred again yesterday, 8 October, in Jerusalem, add to the heavy toll for which the occupying Power bears prime responsibility. The Security Council cannot rest nor can its conscience be clear so long as such murders, punishments and excesses perpetrated in the guise of purported measures to

(Mr. Bagbeni Adeito Nzengeya, Zaire)

maintain public order are not met with any appropriate action or decision by the Council.

The Security Council will not be able to maintain its credibility and prestige as long as no constructive and concrete action - such as the dispatch of a fact-finding mission made up of members of the Council to inquire into the facts on the spot - has been taken to attest to its constant concern for the maintenance of international peace and security wherever they are threatened.

Our Council will not have fully exercised its functions if it does not manage to convert the spirit of war and confrontation with which the Middle East is rife to a spirit of dialogue and agreement among all the parties concerned, in accordance with its resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), and in so doing to promote the convening of an international conference on the Middle East in which all the permament members of the Council will participate along with all interested parties, including the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the true representative of the Palestinian people.

My delegation believes that until the Council can evidence some political will to come to grips with the question of Palestine, which lies at the very heart of the Middle East conflict, and so long as there has been no implementation of resolution 181 (II), which was adopted on 29 November 1947 at the second session of the General Assembly and which provides for the creation of a Palestinian Arab State, the Palestinian people in their frustration will never cease to demand their legitimate rights, particularly their right to exist as a people within a clearly defined State.

If such is not the case, what we have come to call the intifadah will continue, notwithstanding acts of intimidation, rebukes and the use of military

(Mr. Bagbeni Adeito Nzengeya, Zaire)

force, for the struggle of a people for independence and freedom knows no price. The modern history of mankind has shown this to be true.

In light of the foregoing, my delegation deplores the violent acts committed by the authorities of the Israeli police in Jerusalem on 8 October, which have cost the lives of at least 19 Palestinians, and considers that such massacres must be unequivocally condemned and appropriate measures taken by the Council.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Zaire for his kind words. The next speaker is the representative of Egypt. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. MOUSSA (Egypt): I wish at the outset to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. I am confident that you will lead the deliberations of the Council with wisdom and ability during the month of October.

Let me also commend your predecessor, Ambassador Vorontsov of the Soviet Union, for the excellent manner in which he led the Council's deliberations in the month of September.

It was with very serious concern and with a sense of outrage and condemnation that we in Egypt learned of the disturbing news emanating from the occupied Palestinian territories and from Jerusalem. We are of the view that the massacre that took place in the Holy City should be condemned in the strongest of terms. It is abundantly clear that the Israeli occupation authorities have failed to live up to the responsibilities incumbent upon them in accordance with international law and Conventions, Security Council resolutions and the Charter of the United Nations.

(Mr. Moussa, Egypt)

The persistent recurrence of massacres, of practices that affect the lives of the Palestinian population under the Israeli occupation, makes it imperative for the Security Council to take a firm stand on behalf of the international community in order to save the Palestinians from elimination and brutal treatment by the authorities of occupation or the extremist Israeli elements who have no moral standards of civilized behaviour in their treatment of the Palestinians. The continuation of Israeli policies and practices, such as the one perpetrated yesterday, 8 October, is bound to add to the gravity of the situation in the Middle East and erode the chances of a peaceful settlement, let alone peaceful coexistence in the future.

The carnage in Jerusalem proves beyond doubt that the foreign occupation is the source of all ills in the Middle East and that the withdrawal of Israel from the Palestinian territories, including Jerusalem, as well as from other Arab territories, is a major prerequisite for peace and stability in the region.

The Security Council has adopted several resolutions in connection with the Israeli occupation. Israel has honoured none of them. Israel has to understand that the international community shall never acquiesce in its occupation or in its expansionist schemes. We in the Arab world, we in Egypt, shall never cease in our efforts to achieve a comprehensive settlement that would provide for the withdrawal of Israel from those Arab territories. We shall never accept any fait accompli based on false claims or unlawful premises.

We call upon Israel to abide by the rule of law. We call upon Israel to respect the Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War. We call upon Israel to put an end to the brutal treatment by its forces of the Palestinian population in the occupied territories, including Jerusalem. We call upon Israel to stop all actions which would constitute a provocation to the Palestinian population and to restrain the provocateurs among

(Mr. Moussa, Egypt)

its population. We call upon Israel to stop the policies of settling individuals and groups in the occupied territories. We call upon Israel to bear in mind the explosive situation in the area and to act responsibly in such circumstances.

We call upon all countries not to undertake any action that would constitute a violation of Palestinian rights. We call upon all individuals from all nations not to contribute to the desecration of Muslim and Christian shrines or to add to the charged atmosphere in the occupied territories. We call upon all enlightened Jewish people all over the world to help put an end to such practices led by the extremist elements in Israel or in the occupied territories believed to be condoned by the occupation authorities.

(Mr. Moussa, Egypt)

We call upon the Security Council to condemn such acts and to demand of Israel that it exercise restraint, avoid acts of provocation, respect international law and fulfil its legal obligations pursuant to the Fourth Geneva Convention. We call for the immediate dispatch of a mission to investigate the situation in Jerusalem and to report back as quickly as possible. We call upon the Council to take the measures necessary, by all means available to it, to protect the Palestinians living under occupation.

It is this Council, with this membership, that stood firm vis-à-vis foreign occupation, against violations of the purposes and principles of the Charter. Foreign occupation is foreign occupation, regardless of the occupier. No country is above the law and no country should be immune from the rule of law.

We call upon the Council to take an honest and courageous stand, as it has always done: it should call Israel to order, protect the rights of the Palestinian people and save them from an occupation that loots them not only of their territories but of all their rights, including the right to life.

In that respect, I take this opportunity to quote from Egypt's statement made only a few days ago before the General Assembly:

> "The deteriorating situation and rising tension in the Gulf should not make us lose sight of another source of tension in the region, namely the continuing Israeli occupation of the Arab territories and the increasing suffering of the Palestinian people under occupation. Israel would be mistaken to imagine that the Gulf crisis will divert attention from the Palestinian question or from the intifadah of the Palestinian people and their legitimate quest for their inalienable rights, in particular their right to self-determination ... It would be a gross miscalculation on Israel's part to attempt to capitalize on the Gulf crisis in order to distort the realities of the Palestinian question or to push it into obscurity and oblivion.

(Mr. Moussa, Egypt)

"Having said this, we must strongly reaffirm that the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of land by force is indivisible."

(A/45/PV.21, p. 67)

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Egypt for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Tunisia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. GHEZAL (Tunisia) (interpretation from Arabic): It gives my delegation pleasure to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of October. We are certain that under your presidency, the Council will be able successfully to complete its work thanks to your wealth of experience and your proven efficiency, and thanks to the prestige and weight of your country, the United Kingdom, as a permanent member of the Security Council.

I cannot but take this opportunity also to pay tribute to your predecessor, Ambassador Yuliy Vorontsov, Permanent Representative of the Soviet Union, who presided over the work of the Security Council last month. I congratulate him on the wisdom and experience he displayed as President.

The Security Council was convened last Friday to consider the rapidly deteriorating situation in the occupied Palestinian territories, the recent actions by the Israeli forces of occupation and the brutality those forces have used against the rightful owners of the country in an attempt to put down the glorious intifadah which broke out nearly three years ago and which has not flagged in its determination to reclaim the Palestinian people's right to live in freedom on the land of their ancestors, as all other peoples and nations do.

(Mr. Ghezal, Tunisia)

In its intransigence, Israel has stymied every peace initiative that aimed at resolving the problem; it persisted in its repression in pursuance of its goal of judaizing the Palestinian lands by deporting their indigenous inhabitants and suppressing their Arab Islamic and Christian identity in violation of all international conventions, including the Fourth Geneva Convention, and all the norms of civilized behaviour.

The fact that Israel is bringing into the country hundreds of thousands of Jewish emigrants from the Soviet Union and elsewhere in pursuit of its usual policy of fait accompli, shows that Israel has embarked on yet another dangerous attempt to squeeze out the indigenous population and face the international community with the fait accompli of a demographically restructured occupied territory.

The representative of Israel has even mocked the Security Council, the spilled blood of the unarmed innocent victims, the tragedy of the Palestinian people and even the sanctity of the Holy Sites in the region. Only yesterday he repeated what he had said on Friday, namely that the convening of the Security Council is a diversionary tactic that is meant to divert attention from the Gulf crisis.

The truth of the matter is that Israel is exploiting the Gulf crisis in the worst possible way for its own purposes. It has escalated its repression and arbitrary actions, intensified the use of force against the population, and expanded its settlement building programme. In all this, it has taken advantage of the preoccupation by the world with the Gulf crisis.

If we recall previous meetings by the Security Council at about the same time in previous years, we must also recall that the Palestinians, including women, old people and children, have been the victims, every week, nay every day and every hour of the day and the night, of repression, persecution and brutality at the

(Mr. Ghezal, Tunisia)

hands of the Israeli occupying forces, and that they have never had any recourse against that sort of aggression. There has never been anyone to deter Israel and stay its murderous hand.

Has the occupation come to an end? Has Israel desisted from its barbaric practices which fly in the face of international law, international conventions and the principle of human rights, so that the Security Council, the guarantor of peace and justice in the world should look the other way and take no action? No: it is quite the contrary. The reports of international organizations - including the Human Rights Committee, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization , the World Health Organization, Amnesty International, the International Committee of the Red Cross, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East - have demonstrated by facts, figures, dates and other irrefutable data the enormity of the suffering that has been visited upon the Palestinian people for decades. The torture, expulsion, exile, the demolition of homes, the malnutrition, deprivation, and lack of even basic education, have continued unabated.

(Mr. Ghezal, Tunisia)

As the Chairperson of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, Mrs. Diallo, the Permanent Representative of Senegal, has told the Council, Israel's record is replete with all these forms of injustice. In the well documented report she introduced during the Council's meeting last Friday, she produced the evidence.

Apart from those repressive practices, Israel is daily committing atrocities adding to its already heavy dossier. The most recent was the massacre at the Boreij refugee camp, where 180 Palestinians were injured and 200 others, aged between 12 and 45, were detained. Fifty houses were demolished and the Israelis later besieged the camp and deported half its inhabitants. Naturally enough, the Red Cross, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) and the media were prevented from entering the camp.

The Israeli authorities did not even give first aid to the wounded, and they prevented their families from visiting them. Old people and children were particularly affected.

Yesterday, Israel perpetrated the atrocious massacre in the al-Aqsa Mosque, the first of the two kiblahs, the third most sacred place of our religion. Twenty-one Palestinians were killed and hundreds were wounded. Our television screens showed fearful pictures, and the media told us of atrocities committed by the Israeli authorities during the massacre and afterwards.

Such acts are committed daily by Israel's occupying forces. In London Mr. Douglas Hurd, Foreign Minister of the United Kingdom, made a statement, reported in The Washington Times of 5 October, which was also quoted by the Permanent Representative of Malaysia yesterday, because it says a great deal. Mr. Hurd said:

(Mr. Ghezal, Tunisia)

(spoke in English)

"Anyone with a sense of humanity must sympathize with the Palestinians. Their lands are occupied, they have no political rights and they are daily the victims of a misguided policy which believes that the security of Israel must rest on closed schools, illegitimate settlements and even collective punishments." (S/PV.2946, p. 38)

(continued in Arabic)

In the teeth of all this, we are told by Israel that this meeting by the Security Council is merely a diversionary tactic or just routine.

What matters, however, is this: What justification or pretext is there for the Council not to take firm and urgent action against Israel's acts of repression, in order to deter Israel and put an end to the plight of the Palestinian people? If it does not, let us say a fond farewell to justice and equity and say goodbye for ever to peace and security in the region. The Security Council has cared for all oppressed peoples. Why should it not care for the Palestinian people?

The plight of Palestine is as old as the United Nations. The General Assembly and the Security Council have adopted a number of resolutions on it, but most of them have remained a dead letter so far, some for 43 years, some for 23 years and others - the most recent - for three years. Other draft resolutions have been put before the Council and, of course, they were not adopted.

Today, international relations - thank God - have witnessed détente and agreement. That is why we hope the Security Council will remove the injustice that has been weighing so heavily on the Palestinian people for more than four decades. We ask it to take speedy action to extend international protection to those people, as proposed in a report by the Secretary-General which has itself remained a dead letter. The Security Council would thus pave the way for the holding of an

(Mr. Ghezal, Tunisia)

international peace conference on the Middle East as soon as possible, under United Nations auspices, with the participation of all the parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, in order to remove the nightmare that has beset the region and to usher in an era of peace, security and stability, and thus restore the right of the Palestinian people to live a life of dignity and their right to create their own independent State on their own national soil.

That, the Security Council can now do.

Last month, the Security Council demonstrated its newly found ability to move forcefully, not only to adopt resolutions but also to guarantee their implementation. The Council has also upheld international legitimacy. We are on the side of international legitimacy. We are committed to it, in every case, in every part of the world, every time. We are very anxious to have it respected everywhere and upheld at all times. International legitimacy is basically embodied in the United Nations Charter and the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. To ensure the sanctity of international legitimacy, we must avoid selectivity regardless of who is involved. Selectivity is ruled out. What is at stake now is the credibility of the Security Council and the United Nations as a whole.

When they met here in New York, the Foreign Ministers of the five permanent members of the Council reaffirmed the need to initiate a process of negotiation, with the participation of all the parties involved in the Middle East conflict. We expect them to translate their words into deeds, soon.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Tunisia for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Saudi Arabia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. SHIHABI (Saudi Arabia) (interpretation from Arabic): I am happy to congratulate you, Sir, on presiding over the Council's work for this month. I wish you every success.

I should also like to express my appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Vorontsov, Permanent Representative of the Soviet Union, for the great job he did last month.

(Mr. Shihabi, Saudi Arabia)

The Council has heard the eloquent statement of Mr. Al-Sabah, the Foreign Minister of Kuwait, which we strongly support. The Israeli authorities persist in their grave practices in the occupied Arab territories, ignoring the Charter. They do not recognize any rights, nor can anything seem to deter them or compel them to respect the law.

The events of yesterday and today in Jerusalem at the hands of those authorities are a horrendous crime under any law and contravene the Charter of the United Nations and all international conventions. Today, the Council sits in judgement on that crime and its perpetrators.

Saudi Arabia's anger at today's and yesterday's events at the Al-Aqsa mosque is shared by the Arab and Moslem nations. We denounce Israel and warn it of the consequences of bloodshed, the desecration of the holy sites, and the denial of the rights of the Palestinian Arab people. The random shooting of unarmed Arab civilians by the Israeli police, who killed their victims by the dozen as if their lives had no value whatsoever, flies in the face of all human values, of all that the United Nations stands for, and of every basic concept and convention on human rights.

The gravity and enormity of the crime committed by the Israeli authorities are redoubled by the fact that it came on the heels of a previous attempt to desecrate Al-Aqsa mosque, the third holiest place in Islam.

The claim of the Israeli representative that the armed Israeli troops acted only in self-defence is refuted by the number of Arab dead and wounded. Israel believes that it can exploit any situation in the area to justify its crimes. That is an illusion which ignores reality, and adds to the gravity of those crimes.

The Security Council, in the light of its principal responsibilities, should take a very stern and unambiguous position. It should condemn the crime and those

(Mr. Shihabi, Saudi Arabia)

who perpetrated it. It should hold the Israeli authorities responsible for all their actions and take every measure to protect the Palestinians against this terrorism.

We support our brethren in Palestine and their struggle, and call on the entire world to support them as well. We also bless the memory of the victims and martyrs, whose blood irrigates the holy places at Al-Quds.

We hope that before too long Palestine will soon be amongst us as a Member State working in conjunction with other States. The tragedy of the history of Palestine and the Palestinians is replete with victims of terrorism and of broken conventions, laws and treaties. The Security Council is responsible for the safety and security of those people and should deal with those crimes in accordance with the Charter of the Organization. We greatly hope that the Security Council will shoulder its responsibilities vis-à-vis today's events in Al-Quds and Palestine, and that it will prove to the Palestinians and the whole world that it stands by what is right, wherever that may be.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Saudi Arabia for his kind words.

The next speaker is Mr. Abdulmalek Ismail Mohamed, Chargé d'affaires of the Office of the Permanent Observer of the League of Arab States to the United Nations, to whom the Council has extended an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. ISMAIL (interpretation from Arabic): Since I have the honour of speaking before the Council for the first time under your presidency, Sir, allow me to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency for this month, which requires wisdom and responsibility in the fulfilment of your tasks. We are confident that you will conduct the affairs of the Council with all expertise.

I would also like to add my voice to those expressing appreciation for the extraordinary manner in which Ambassador Vorontsov, the permanent representative of the Soviet Union, conducted the affairs of the Council last month.

There is little left for me to add after the statements of earlier speakers. However, regrettably, Israel has seized every opportunity to add a negative element to the international community and to ignore all international laws and norms in defiance of this and other international forums. Thus, its actions compel us once again to speak.

Isn't it enough to have one grave situation in the Middle East that is already threatening security and peace, not only in the region but throughout the world? We now see Israel acting against the justice of the Palestinian cause in a very barbaric manner. Such repeated behaviour ignores the resolutions of the Council and the General Assembly.

Israel claims that, in order to achieve quiet, it must fight against what it claims to be instability. Should we accept such a claim? We would like to ask Israel a reverse question: by ignoring realities and responding with live ammunition, tear gas and other barbarities to the children of a people that expresses its will by stones, can Israel claim its actions to be those of a self-respecting Government living up to its responsibilities, especially at a time like this? Is this behaviour that can lead to quiet and the search for peace?

(Mr. Ismail)

The representative of Israel repeatedly refers to Israel's desire for peace. All this is very confusing. What kind of peace does Israel want? Peace as in Security Council resolutions, or Pax-Israeliana as in the illegitimate aspirations of an entity that uses Hebrew names from the history books for the occupied territory and, on that basis, claims that that territory is part of its own heritage?

The Palestine question is the core of the crisis in the Middle East. The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) is the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. That is the first side of the equation.

The second side of the equation is the Israeli practices against the Palestinian people and against international peace and security.

Are those two sides of the equation co-equal? Events have proved that they cannot be; there is no balance between them.

As it has done recently, the Security Council's action should be guided by principles, law, right and justice. The Security Council should make it its business to have those principles applied everywhere. Only in that way can it gain credibility. Only in that way can it ensure that the great values it stands for will be respected.

I was talking to one of my colleagues in the corridors of this building the other day. He asked: What can we do now? Are we supposed to be reading out essays in the Security Council for all the world to hear? The representative of Israel, like his predecessors, seems to be intent on turning the Council into something that is akin to a school. He goes on reading out quotations from newspapers, from radio, broadcasts and television programmes. Most of the material that is read out is so trite that it does not deserve being read out. Apparently, the intention is to impress the Council and show others that he is well-read.

(Mr. Ismail)

I am sure the Security Council would prefer the representatives of Israel to spell out their reading of the United Nations Charter, and their understanding of the Security Council resolutions on their occupation and their invasion. I am sure the Council would wish to ask them whether they are prepared to respect resolutions and conventions on this subject. That is what the world wants to hear from Israel. That is what is required if peace and security are to be maintained - not the monotonous reading out of quotations from newspapers, intelligence service manuals, and so forth.

Obviously, someone from a certain State can engage in a narration about differences or contradictions in another State, or anywhere else, but the end result is the same - that is, this does not prove that the narrator is for peace, especially when he comes from a war-mongering country.

Recently, we have noted that general questions have been crystallized into specific ones for consideration by the Security Council. Some of these questions are direct; some are indirect. What is important is to say "yes" to the law, "yes" to legitimacy, "yes" to principle - but for all, and not only for some; "yes" to the Security Council, "yes" to resolutions - but for all and not just for some.

If I were to ask all the questions that need to be asked, I should have to make a very long speech. The fact is that our peoples need answers to these questions. Our peoples have supported steps previously taken by the Council. We have supported action by the Council in this new phase. The Council has acquired a new status and moral authority during the past few months.

What we and others would like to know is whether the Security Council of August and September is the Security Council of October. The Council has two feet. Why does Israel want it to walk on two fingers? I leave the answer to the Security Council.

The PRESIDENT: I thank Mr. Ismail for his kind words about the presidency.

The next speaker is the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. EL-FATTAL (Syrian Arab Republic) (interpretation from Arabic): I should first like to offer my congratulations to you, Sir, on your accession to the presidency of the Security Council for October. I wish you every success as you carry out your duties.

I would also take this opportunity to express my gratitude to your predecessor, Ambassador Vorontsov, the representative of the Soviet Union - a country with which the Syrian Arab Republic has long-standing ties - for the exemplary way he conducted the Council's work last month.

Sheik Jaber Al-Sabah, the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of Kuwait, has made a very important statement on behalf of the Arab Group. We highly commend his statement, which expresses the feelings of all Muslims and Arabs vis-à-vis the deeds committed by the occupying Israeli forces.

The occupying Israeli forces continue to escalate their campaign which aims at changing the demographic structure of the occupied Arab territories. Those forces persist in killing Arab civilians and deporting them by force while hundreds of thousands of Jewish immigrants are settled on the lands of occupied Palestine under colonialist settler pretexts. This is done in the context of a scheme that aims at creating the purely Israeli racist entity that has been the objective of the Zionist Movement since the end of the last century under the slogan: "The immigration of a people without land to a land without a people."

The Israeli occupation authorities committed a new crime on Monday, 8 October 1990, that is added to the record of their crimes which started with the establishment of Israel. The targets of the crime, this time, have been the

(Mr. El-Fattal, Syrian Arab Republic)

Palestinians and the Holy Places, which have a very special place in the hearts of Muslims and Christians alike. Those Holy Places, which the entire international community venerates and regards as part of the heritage of mankind, have been desecrated.

This premeditated massacre should not surprise anyone, perpetrated as it was by this terrorist entity called Israel. It is a flagrant violation of human values that has earned the condemnation of the whole world. It is also a violation of the Charter, of United Nations resolutions and of the Fourth Geneva Convention.

The Security Council, the General Assembly and other world forums have previously condemned the annexation of the City of Jerusalem and declared it to be null and void. It is worth recalling that the Council condemned Israel for its attempt to burn down the Al-Aqsa Mosque, the first Qibla and third Holiest Place of Islam. At the time, Israel tried to shrug that crime off by blaming it on a deranged person. One cannot but wonder what pretext the Israeli authorities have up their sleeve this time as justification for this bloody, unforgivable massacre. They will probably blame it on a bunch of mentally deranged persons.

(Mr. El-Fattal, Syrian Arab Republic)

The Security Council has to rise to the level of its responsibilities, move fast and put an end to these brutal massacres, and various other Israeli practices which violate the rights of Arab man and endanger his very existence and his culture. The Security Council is duty bound to put a stop to the repeated Israeli massacres which started in Dier Yasin in 1948, and have continued unabated ever since.

The premeditated murder of 23 Palestinians of all ages and the wounding of hundreds of other unarmed civilians is but a new episode in the continuing series of acts of terrorism perpetrated by Israel with a view to expelling the Arabs and destroying both Muslim and Christian holy places for the purpose of establishing the purist racist Zionist entity.

We should like to recall the desecration of the Greek Orthodox cathedral in Al-Quds, which was occupied by Israeli settlers. They are still there to this day.

The Security Council should rise to the level of its responsibilities and put an end to these Israeli practices. The Security Council should rein in Israel, stop the mass immigration of Soviet Jews to the occupied Palestinian Arab territories and stop the building of Israeli settlements on the ruins of demolished Palestinian and Syrian towns and villages. The Council should ask all those who finance Israel's colonization projects to desist. Both the money and the influx of immigrants should be stopped. In addition, the Security Council should firmly and unequivocally condemn Israel for this criminal act. For this purpose, the Security Council should set up a committee of its members to be sent to the spot to investigate the violations that are taking place in Al-Quds and the rest of the Arab occupied territories, in contravention of the fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 which Israel continues to reject despite your many resolutions. That committee

(Mr. El-Fattal, Syrian Arab Republic)

should then present to the Security Council a report on its findings so that the Council might adopt the necessary measures.

We reiterate that it is imperative that Israel withdraw from all the occupied Arab territories. This is a prerequisite if we are to usher in the new international order for which everyone hopes, and if we are to prepare the way to a just and lasting peace in the region of the Middle East by holding an international peace conference in accordance with the principles of international law and the resolutions of the United Nations.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic for his statement and for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Iraq. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. KADRAT (Iraq) (interpretation from Arabic): I congratulate you, Sir, on assuming the presidency of the Security Council, and I pay tribute to your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of the Soviet Union, Mr. Yuliy Vorontsov, who conducted the business of the Council very skilfully.

The massacre perpetrated by the Zionist occupation forces in the Haram al-Sharif is but a link in the long chain of crimes committed by the Zionist entity against the Palestinian people over a period of half a century. It is just another example of the Zionist endeavours to judaize Arab Jerusalem, which was occupied by Israel in 1967 and was later annexed and proclaimed the eternal capital of Israel.

Since then, Israel has persisted in its aggressive acts against the Palestinian people and in the other occupied Arab territories. Israel engages in this kind of activity only because it knows full well that the Security Council will not impose any sanctions against it or do anything else to deter it from

(Mr. Kadrat, Iraq)

launching aggression against the Palestinians. It knows that the United States of America, as a permanent member of the Security Council, will use its veto to prevent the Council from imposing any measures against it, especially the sanctions provided for in Chapter 7 of the United Nations Charter.

Iraq has always pointed out that the lack of security and stability in the Middle East is caused mainly by the Zionist aggressive and expansionist policies, by Jewish settler immigration, and by the policy of preventing the Palestinian people from exercising its inalienable right to return to its homeland and to establish an independent Palestinian State. The international community, as represented in the United Nations General Assembly, has recognized all these rights. Since 1947, it has been calling for implementation of the right of Palestinian refugees to return to their homeland. But United Nations resolutions regarding the Palestinian question and holy Al-Quds remain dead letters because the Security Council, for its part, has not taken the necessary measures to ensure their implementation.

Israel, sometimes with the support of its Western allies, has committed acts of aggression aimed at the realization of its expansionist dream of establishing the so-called great Israel that Zionists claim should extend from the Nile to the Euphrates. The United States and its allies advocate international legitimacy and compliance with the resolutions of the Security Council. They took only hours or days to enforce the sanctions provided for in Chapter VII and to mobilize military forces in the region. I refer to recent measures, which are unprecedented in the history of the United Nations, against Iraq. Now the world witnesses Israel's persistent crimes and acts of aggression following upon the heels of each other. Israel has annexed and, for many decades, occupied land by force, in violation of

(Mr. Kadrat, Iraq)

resolutions of the Security Council. But in this case, the United States of America did not speak of international legitimacy or feel the need to invoke the sanctions provisions of Chapter VII. On the contrary, the United States prevented the Security Council from undertaking its basic responsibilities in respect of the aggressor. In addition, the United States has continued to provide the Zionist aggressor entity with every possible military and material assistance. It has also extended to that entity the political protection that enables it to implement its expansionist policies to the detriment of the Palestinian people and the rest of the Arab nation which is being weakened with a view to its eventual fragmentation into mini States on a religious basis.

These United States policies and postures and those of its allies expose the hypocrisy and double standards of their racial discrimination in Western interests in the region while ignoring the basic concepts of international legitimacy and human rights - which they claim to champion and defend. The most telling proof that they are simply paying lip-service to such lofty principles is the strident campaign which has been waged by Western circles to allow Soviet Jews to emigrate to occupied Palestine and the silence they have kept with regard to the right of the Palestinian people to return to their land. The United States of America, the champion of peace and human rights, is denying the Palestinian people, of all the peoples of the world, the opportunity to exercise its right to self-determination.

(Mr. Kadrat, Iraq)

Iraq reiterates its call for serious study to be given to the initiative launched by President Saddam Hussein on 12 August 1990. That initiative was elaborated in the statement delivered on behalf of Mr. Tariq Aziz, the Foreign Minister of Iraq, before the United Nations General Assembly. That initiative calls upon the international community to apply common criteria and principles to all the problems of the region, foremost among which is the Palestinian cause, of which the United Nations has been seized for more than 40 years. The solution of that problem should aim at establishing security and stability in the region in compliance with international law, justice and United Nations resolutions.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Iraq for his congratulations addressed to the presidency.

The next speaker is the representative of Bangladesh. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. MOHIUDDIN (Bangladesh): Mr. President, Israel has put this Council to a severe test. I have not the slightest doubt that under your astute leadership the Council will acquit itself commendably and well. It is a pleasure for my delegation to see you in the Chair, not least because Britain and Bangladesh enjoy the closest ties - but also because at such trying times as these we need someone of your prodigious capabilities to guide us. Similarly, I should like to offer my felicitations to Ambassador Vorontsov of the Soviet Union for conducting the proceedings of the Council last month so admirably and with great distinction.

Israel's atrocities and its infliction of the blood bath on the streets of the Holy City of Jerusalem yesterday are an affront to the Council. The eyes of the world are focused on this Council. The confidence that the world has placed in the Council, made so abundantly clear in recent weeks, must not be allowed to be

(Mr. Mohiuddin, Bangladesh)

shaken. The Council's credibility cannot be allowed to erode. The Council cannot afford that now. There is too much at stake.

We have more than ever before looked up to you in the Council in recent times as the protector of the weak. We have seen you as the proponents of fair play and justice. We have applauded your determination to uphold the principles enshrined in our Charter. We have gone along with you regardless of the costs to us. Today, we lay before you a case where a Member State, Israel, has been perpetrating the most horrendous violations of civilized behaviour. We urge you to act in the same vein as during the preceding weeks. We expect you to stand up for right and to condemn wrong. You cannot, you must not, disappoint us.

Yesterday's tragedy ought not to have taken the world by surprise. Israel has made no effort to disguise its duplicity. Its repressive measures to quash the intifadah have taken new and far more ominous forms. The Council's repeated calls on Israel to abide by the relevant Geneva Convention have fallen on deaf ears. Despite the appeal of the international community, widespread violation of human rights persists.

Bangladesh's position on the issue is consistent and categorical. The intifadah has testified to the rejection of the occupation status quo. Neither dehumanization, detention, banishment nor death has deterred the Palestinian resistance. Its cause is founded on justice. Israel must withdraw from all territories occupied since 1967. The inalienable national rights of the Palestinians, including the right to a State of their own in their homeland with Jerusalem as its capital, must be restored. We support the convening of an international peace conference with the participation of all parties concerned, the permanent members of the Council and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO),

(Mr. Mohiuddin, Bangladesh)

on an equal footing. It is time the Council acted to bring this about. The consensus on this is unquestionably growing and is almost complete.

The acquisition of territory by force is inadmissible under international law. No transgressor State must be permitted to continue its illegality with impunity. No aggressor must be allowed to profit from acts of aggression. These are fundamental values that all of us present here and outside cherish. These are the basic ground rules of international conduct which all of us must adhere to. In pursuance of these ethics and in defence of these beliefs we have sent soldiers far from home. These principles have tied us, round this table and outside this Chamber, in a common bond. Let not this bond be shred asunder by the obduracy of a single irrational entity.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Bangladesh for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. KHARRAZI (Islamic Republic of Iran): At the outset I should like to express my congratulations to you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of October. I am confident that with your diplomatic abilities you will guide the Council to effective and concrete results. I should like to extend my appreciation also to your predecessor, Ambassador Vorontsov, for the distinguished manner in which he conducted the Council's work in September.

The situation in occupied Palestine has been discussed in the Security Council since the early days of the occupation. During these years the régime occupying Palestine has continued its crimes against the innocent people of Palestine. Murdering and injuring Muslim people of Palestine, expelling the Palestinian inhabitants, changing the demographic composition of the occupied territories

(Mr. Kharrazi, Islamic Republic of Iran)

through the deportation of Palestinians and the illegal migration of Jews, and efforts aimed at eliminating the Islamic character of the occupied territories: all this has shown the barbaric nature of the Zionist régime and its total disregard of the Charter and principles of international law.

Unfortunately, during the past four decades these cruel actions have been dealt with by the international community in such a way that the Zionist régime has felt free to continue its violation of all recognized rules of international law against the inhabitants of the occupied territories. Now the big question is: How long can we wait and witness the continuation of these acts of lawlessness and violations of basic human rights? Is it not time to resort to the relevant provisions of the United Nations Charter against the persistent Zionist aggressions, which indeed constitute a threat to international peace and security?

(Mr. Kharrazi, Islamic Republic of Iran)

Yesterday morning the Zionist forces committed yet another act of aggression against the Haram Al-Shareef and the Moslem people of Palestine. So far, more than 20 innocent civilians have been martyred and more than 200 people have been wounded as a result of the latest brutality by the Zionist régime. This premeditated crime was another attempt by the Zionists to desecrate the Islamic Holy Place and to show the world that they have a free hand to commit crimes with impunity.

Unfortunately, recent events in the Persian Gulf caused by the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait have diverted the attention of the whole world from the atrocities committed by the Zionist régime in the occupied territories. The international community has supported the Security Council's expeditious response to the Iraqi aggression. This shows that the Council is and must be in a position to shoulder its legal responsibilities vis-à-vis all acts of aggression in different parts of the world. The current situation in Palestine presents a major challenge to the Security Council to prove that the Council is an independent body responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security and that it refrains from employing a double standard in dealing with different crises. We believe it is high time for the Council to meet the justified expectations of world public opinion and to act promptly by adopting effective measures under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter against the Zionist régime for its persistent aggression against the Islamic land of Palestine.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran for his kind words addressed to the presidency.

I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Mauritania, Morocco, Pakistan, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I

(The President)

propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Ould Mohamed Mahmoud (Mauritania), Mr. Hasbi (Morocco), Mr. Umer (Pakistan), Mr. Al-Ni'mah (Qatar) and Mr. Al-Shaali (United Arab Emirates) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Mauritania. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. OULD MOHAMED MAHMOUD (Mauritania) (interpretation from French): Allow me at the outset to extend to you, Sir, my warm congratulations on the United Kingdom's assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of October. I should also like to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Ambassador Yuliy Vorontsov of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, for the skill and efficiency with which he guided the Council's work last month.

I shall try not to take too much of the Council's precious time, particularly since my country fully endorses the statement made by the representative of Algeria, who spoke on behalf of the delegations of the States members of the Arab Maghreb Union.

This is not, of course, the first time the Council has been called upon to take a decision on Israeli actions that have gravely violated the rights of the Palestinian people, actions that complicate an already tragic situation and that undermine efforts being made to reach a settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict - that is, efforts to ensure the long-awaited convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East.

(Mr. Ould Mohamed Mahmoud, Mauritania)

The United Nations, and in particular the Security Council, has, along with other responsible bodies, been discussing the question of Palestine ever since the creation of the State of Israel. Since 1947 the Council has adopted countless resolutions on this question, and the rejections of those resolutions by the occupying Power have been equally numerous.

The international community has daily been a witness to all kinds of acts of provocation and aggression against the Palestinian people.

In other words, this new massacre committed in a Holy Place, and at the very time when the Muslim community is commemorating the anniversary of its Prophet's birth, is unfortunately nothing new. It is a further example of the policy of the physical elimination of the Palestinians, just as this meeting is another in the habitual protests by the international community against violations of law. However, is it not high time that this body took effective measures to put an end to the horrible massacres of Palestinians as well as to Israeli actions that now, more than ever before, run the risk of triggering confrontations that this time will neither be brief nor limited to the region.

At the very time when the Council is still seized of the question of the mass immigration of Soviet Jews - an immigration that, as we know, is aimed at altering the demographic structure of the occupied Arab territories - and at the very time when the international community, and the Security Council in particular, is dealing with a crisis that poses a threat to regional and general peace, can we allow Israel to continue to perpetrate its serious misdeeds? Today, it would be very difficult to accept inaction or passivity by the Council. Such behaviour would have tragic implications for the future of peace, particularly today, when everywhere in the world, with the exception of the Middle East, the news is of the

(Mr. Ould Mohamed Mahmoud, Mauritania)

quest, through dialogue, for solutions to all conflicts and of growing co-operation between different States and political systems.

As the Council is doubtless well aware, the new eruption of violence, like the immigration of the Soviet Jews, is occurring in plain sight and with the knowledge of everyone. The Israeli authorities show total contempt for the concerns of the international community, including those of the General Assembly, whose most recent resolution, 44/2, on the subject demands that the occupying Power desist immediately from policies and practices that violate the rights of the Palestinians.

This new massacre and the repeated statements by Israeli leaders about the need for a "Greater Israel" to meet the demands of the influx of immigrants are a result of the policy of settlement and immigration. However paradoxical it may be, in this case the effect is creating the cause.

Yet it is all too obvious that the repression, the immigration and the annexation of new territories, combined with the methodical genocide to which the international community is witness, are a long way from achieving the Israeli dream.

(Mr. Ould Mohamed Mahmoud, Mauritania)

The intifadah, launched in December 1987, and the subsequent proclamation of the State of Palestine are proof - if proof were needed - that peace in that region requires that account be taken of the irrefutable facts, including the struggle of the Palestinian people for respect for its inalienable rights.

My country, which takes every opportunity to reiterate its sincere commitment to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and international law, fervently hopes that the Security Council will not leave the Palestinian people unprotected.

My delegation considers that because of its special responsibilities the Council must act finally to take concrete, effective measures against growing injustice in Palestine, against the massacres committed yesterday in Al-Quds on the precinct of the Mosque, against mass immigration and against all anachronistic acts which quite simply run against the tide of history and undermine the gains achieved through the détente that is so precious to the international community in the promotion of universal security and peace.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Mauritania for the words he spoke about the presidency.

The next speaker, the last I intend to call upon before we adjourn for lunch, is the representative of Pakistan. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. UMER (Pakistan): I should like to begin, Sir, by extending to you the sincere felicitations of my delegation on your assumption of the high office of President of the Security Council for the month of October. We are confident that your great experience and tested abilities will enable the Council to deal successfully with the momentous and sensitive developments of which it is currently seized.

(Mr. Umer, Pakistan)

I should also like to avail myself of this opportunity to express our gratitude to your predecessor, His Excellency Ambassador Yuliy Vorontsov, Permanent Representative of the Soviet Union, who handled the work of the Council with great distinction and skill last month.

The consideration of the situation in the occupied Arab territories is yet another sombre reminder, if any were needed, that the international community has not been able to resolve what is perhaps the oldest issue on its agenda. The question of Palestine has been figuring in the debates of the United Nations for about four decades, and we are no nearer to a solution of the problem today than we were 42 years ago, when it first came up for the consideration of the world body.

All over the world people are vividly conscious of the cruel fate which has overtaken the Palestinian people under alien occupation in the land of their birth, and as refugees scattered in foreign lands. This tragedy is of such proportions that familiarity with it does not blunt the edge of our sensitivity or render us immune from suffering the pangs of conscience it generates.

In the West Bank and in Gaza the indomitable people of Palestine face a relentless oppressor pursuing a calculated policy of harassment and terrorism aimed at compelling them to abandon the land on which they have lived for over a millennium and where they have built a vibrant nation and a proud civilization. Outside the land of their birth, most of them suffer the indescribable hardships of deprivation and life in exile.

The intifadah of the Palestinian people, now in its thirty-fourth month, is being brutally suppressed. The events of yesterday constitute the most glaring example of Israeli contempt for Palestinian human rights. It was with deep shock and horror that the international community learned of the killing of 22 unarmed civilian Palestinians and the wounding of almost 200 others in the compound of one of the holiest shrines of Islam.

(Mr. Umer, Pakistan)

According to today's New York Times, the death toll was the highest for a single day since the start of the intifadah - in which at least 793 Palestinians have been killed by Israeli troops.

This latest act of Israeli violence against unarmed civilians is outrageous. The mindlessness of the action was matched by its brutality. Innocent people were murdered in cold blood. However, the incident was not an isolated episode, but stemmed directly from the policy of Israeli repression, which has recently been intensified. The latest killings were an outcome of the Israeli attitude of total disregard for Palestinian human rights and the inevitable result of the official Israeli policy of oppression against the Palestinian people.

My Government has categorically condemned yesterday's killings. A press release issued on 8 October states:

"The Government and the people of Pakistan are appalled by the brutal, inhuman and senseless orgy of violence resorted to by the Israeli army and extremist secular groups against unarmed civilians on 8 October in the Holy City of Jerusalem, in which 22 Palestinians were martyred and more than 200 wounded.

"Israel's continued disregard of human rights and callous attitude towards international public opinion deserve condemnation in the strongest possible terms. We call on the international community to raise its voice against this outrage and to initiate appropriate action to restrain Israel from blatantly violating norms of human values.

"We extend our sincere and heartfelt condolences to the bereaved families and pray for the early recovery of those who were wounded."

The continuously deteriorating conditions inside the occupied territories are rendered more poignant by the bleakness of the prospects for a solution of the Palestinian question on the basis of the realization of the inalienable national

(Mr. Umer, Pakistan)

rights of that people, including a State of its own in Palestine. The numerous international initiatives, including the peace proposals by Chairman Yasser Arafat, aimed at seeking a just solution of the Palestinian problem have so far foundered on the rock of Israeli intransigence.

The first step would obviously be to protect the defenceless Palestinian population from the continuing brutal assaults by the Israeli authorities. The United Nations must act resolutely now to uphold the application of the provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 1949.

We therefore support the proposal for the establishment of a Security Council commission to be dispatched immediately to examine the situation in Jerusalem and other Palestinian territories occupied by Israel since 1967. The Security Council must have access to accurate and factual information in order to ensure the protection of the Palestinian people.

Simultaneously, urgent efforts need to be undertaken to find a just and lasting settlement in Palestine. The modality for such a settlement is available in the form of an international peace conference on the Middle East with the participation of all parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, on an equal footing. The requirements of the situation demand that this goal be pursued with greater urgency.

(Mr. Umer, Pakistan)

As the Secretary-General himself has said,

"today's incidents are a tragic illustration of the dangers inherent in the stalemate that has for far too long characterized the Israeli-Palestinian conflict." (Press release - SG/SM/4502)

I take this opportunity to reaffirm the abiding commitment of the Government and people of Pakistan to the Palestinian cause, a commitment which goes as far back as the beginnings of our own struggle for independence. Pakistan will continue to exert all efforts and extend all support for the deliverance of the Palestinian people from Israeli occupation.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Pakistan for his warm words addressed to the presidency.

In view of the time, I intend to adjourn the meeting now. With the concurrence of members of the Council, the next meeting of the Security Council to continue consideration of the item on the agenda will take place this afternoon at 5.30 p.m.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.

UNITED
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Security Council

PROVISIONAL

S/PV.2948
13 October 1990

ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWO THOUSAND
NINE HUNDRED AND FORTY-EIGHTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 12 October 1990, at 10.55 p.m.

President:	Sir David HANNAY	(United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland)
Members:	Canada	Mr. FORTIER
	China	Mr. LI Daoyu
	Colombia	Mr. PEÑALOSA
	Côte d'Ivoire	Mr. ANET
	Cuba	Mr. ALARCON de QUESADA
	Ethiopia	Mr. TADESSE
	Finland	Mr. TÖRNUDD
	France	Mr. BLANC
	Malaysia	Mr. RAZALI
	Romania	Mr. MUNTEANU
	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	Mr. VORONTSOV
	United States of America	Mr. PICKERING
	Yemen	Mr. AL-ASHTAL
	Zaire	Mr. BAGBENI ADEITO NZENGEYA

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90-61245/A 2214V (E)

The meeting was called to order at 10.55 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION IN THE OCCUPIED ARAB TERRITORIES

LETTER DATED 26 SEPTEMBER 1990 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF YEMEN TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/21830)

The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decisions taken at the previous meetings on this item, I invite the representatives of Algeria, Bangladesh, Egypt, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mauritania, Morocco, Pakistan, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, the Syrian Arab Republic, Tunisia, the United Arab Emirates and Yugoslavia to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber. I invite the representative of Palestine to take a place at the Council table.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Bendjama (Algeria), Mr. Mohiuddin (Bangladesh), Mr. Moussa (Egypt), Mr. Kharrazi (Islamic Republic of Iran), Mr. Kadrat (Iraq), Mr. Bein (Israel), Mr. Salah (Jordan), Mr. Al-Sabah (Kuwait), Mr. Treiki (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), Mr. Ould Mohamed Mahmoud (Mauritania), Mr. Hasbi (Morocco), Mr. Umer (Pakistan), Mr. Al-Ni'mah (Qatar), Mr. Shihabi (Saudi Arabia), Mr. El-Fattal (Syrian Arab Republic), Mr. Ghezal (Tunisia), Mr. Al-Shaali (United Arab Emirates) and Mr. Silovic (Yugoslavia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber; Mr. Al-Kidwa (Palestine) took a place at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of India and Turkey in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to

(The President)

vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Menon (India) and Mr. Aksin (Turkey) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now resume its consideration of the item on its agenda.

Members of the Council have before them document S/21859, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by Canada and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. Côte d'Ivoire, Finland, Franco, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Zaire have joined as sponsors of the draft resolution.

I should like to draw the attention of members of the Council to the following documents:

S/21855: Letter dated 9 October 1990 from the Permanent Representative of Japan to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General;

S/21858: Letter dated 9 October 1990 from the Permanent Representative of Yugoslavia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General;

S/21864: Letter dated 10 October 1990 from the Permanent Representative of Qatar to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General;

S/21867: Letter dated 10 October 1990 from the Permanent Representative of Kuwait to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General;

S/21868: Letter dated 10 October 1990 from the Permanent Representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General; and

S/21870: Letter dated 11 October 1990 from the Permanent Representative of Tunisia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General.

The first speaker is the representative of the United Arab Emirates. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. AL-SHAALI (United Arab Emirates) (interpretation from Arabic): I should like at the outset, Sir, to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the current month. The few days which have passed since you assumed the presidency have amply demonstrated your experience and your great ability. We are confident that under your leadership the Council will be able to achieve the desired results in these trying times.

I wish also to take this opportunity to pay tribute to your predecessor, Ambassador Verontsov, Permanent Representative of the Soviet Union, for his able presidency of the Council last month.

On Tuesday, Shaikh Sabah Al-Ahmad Al-Sabah, Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Kuwait, spoke on behalf of the Arab Group and expressed our point of view. So, I shall confine myself to just a few remarks.

The tragedy of Palestine is not new to this Council. Israel's practices against the Palestinian people are not things of the moment. Monday's crime is just another episode in the series of acts of aggression - acts from which the Palestinian people has suffered over the past four decades, as no other people has suffered.

However, the latest crime, perpetrated in the holy sanctuary of Al-Aqsa Al-Sharif resulted in the loss of 23 lives and over 200 other unarmed Palestinians wounded. That massacre is of grave significance in today's world where détente and rapprochement prevail, where peace, tolerance and the peaceful settlement of disputes have become the order of the day. In addition to the significance of the time and the place of the crime, what has happened flies in the face of all the concepts and values which we are trying to lay down as solid foundations for international political dealings.

The crime also highlights the terrible human plight of an entire people who live at the mercy of occupying forces which are armed with guns and behave with the arrogance of racial discrimination.

(Mr. Al-Shaali, United Arab Emirates)

How long will the problem of that people continue to weigh on the human conscience? How long will the Palestinian people remain the only people in the world denied the exercise of its legitimate and basic rights enshrined in the United Nations Charter?

It is incumbent on the Council to demonstrate its unity and exercise its authority by setting the historical record straight. It should affirm its credibility by taking a stand that upholds what is right, by compelling Israel to withdraw from all the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories and recognize the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including its right to establish its own independent State on the soil of its homeland, Palestine.

(Mr. Al-Shaali, United Arab Emirates)

Failure to achieve that would impede peace and stability in the Middle East. We have stated on several occasions that we do not expect Israel, the occupier and aggressor, to do any of this of its own accord. It is the international community represented in this Council that should impose its will and exercise the authority entrusted to it by the Charter.

Violence breeds nothing but more violence. Events have demonstrated beyond doubt that time by itself cannot bring solutions and that the might of military machines cannot stamp out the rights of peoples. The Palestinian people has demonstrated through its long struggle, embodied by its intifadah and its great sacrifices, that it is adamant in its determination to regain its rights and exercise self-determination, at any cost.

It is regrettable that Israel should have invented new ways of breaking the law, and that it should be trying to make such practices an integral part of the policies and practices of the region.

My country condemns all acts of aggression, occupation and annexation by anyone. We believe that Israel's practices in the occupied Arab territories are illegal and must be countered by the international community and that the crime perpetrated by Israel at the Al Haram Al Shareef must not go unpunished. Israel must take heed of the new realities in international relations and respect the will of the Palestinian people which is determined to achieve its independence and freedom. This Council should renew its determination to implement its resolutions and bring a just and permanent peace to the Middle East. Until this is done, the Security Council must urgently take the appropriate measures to protect the Palestinians under occupation from the oppressive and inhuman practices of Israel.

We have noticed during the past three days that all the members of the Council are keen to achieve consensus on the draft resolution. We consider this a good

(Mr. Al-Shaali, United Arab Emirates)

beginning, and a tendency that should continue so as to break the present stalemate in the situation. We call upon all the members of the Council to abandon the old policies of bias in favour of Israel and the policies of favouritism towards Israel as such policies have led to nothing but more devastation and aggression. This Council should now send a clear unanimous message to Israel: that it will not hesitate to take deterrent measures against its acts of aggression.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the United Arab Emirates for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Qatar. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make a statement.

Mr. AL-NI'MAH (Qatar) (interpretation from Arabic): At the very outset, I should like to extend to you our great thanks and well-deserved congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. I should like also to extend thanks to your predecessor, the Soviet representative, Mr. Vorontsov, for his excellent guidance and his tireless efforts during the month of his presidency, an extremely difficult and eventful one in which his efforts culminated in an achievement deserving of thanks and praise.

The Foreign Minister of Kuwait, Shaikh Sabah Al-Ahmed Al-Sabah, the head of our Arab group, expressed clearly and sincerely the position of all our Arab countries regarding this very serious incident. My country fully supports the clear facts in his statement and his expression of the concepts and positions of all Arab States regarding these tragic events, which are soaked in blood, as well as the crimes of the Israeli extremists, their feverish and continuous aggression against Islamic Arab sanctuaries in Palestine, their blatant violation of the rights of the Palestinian people, which aspires to and yearns for the most elementary human rights and the exercise of its deserved right to establish its own

(Mr. Al-Ni'mah, Qatar)

independent State on its soil and ensure the survival of its future generations by protecting them from genocide.

With a bleeding heart, I address this Council, which has been convened in the wake of the Black Monday Massacre, a massacre in which the forces of brutal occupation killed scores of Palestinian martyrs and wounded hundreds in blatant violation of human rights and complete disregard of the rules of international law which govern the conduct of the forces of occupation and protect civilians in any occupied territory.

The 8 October massacre is not just another episode in the series of inhuman practices of the Israeli occupation forces on the land of Arab Palestine - those practices, which have been condemned repeatedly in United Nations resolutions which called for a prompt end to them. The criminal acts perpetrated by the Israelis against the Islamic and Arab world will no doubt engender infinite risks. These risks require that the international community, represented by this Council, take a firm stand to prevent the effects from spanning beyond the occupied territories, which would jeopardize the peace and security of the entire world.

The State of Qatar, while condemning the massacre and denouncing the violation by the occupation authorities of the holy places and the Al-Aqsa Mosque, reaffirms its unswerving position on the question of Palestine, the intifadah of its valiant people and its support for the struggle of the Palestinian people to return to its territory and regain all its legitimate rights.

It does not escape any intelligent person that the Al-Aqsa Mosque is a sacred place to all Muslims. The high esteem in which it is held is not limited to the Palestinians but is shared by the entire Islamic world. Thus it is no surprise that we find such Palestinian readiness for martyrdom in defence of the sanctum sanctorum of Islam and to protect its territory and its holy soil.

(Al-Ni'mah, Qatar)

The people who made the sacrifice gathered in the Al-Aqsa Mosque to stand up to this pernicious attempt, which bespoke the arrogance of the forces of occupation. These forces fired on the worshippers, killing and wounding people regardless of the sanctity of the mosque and the rights of the worshippers. May the arm of the criminal be severed, and may the hand of the usurping oppressor never be free from harm.

Am I not fully justified in calling upon the Security Council to come to the aid of those victims, to provide them with the necessary protection by adopting those measures that would restore to the Palestinian people some of the peace of mind that has been lost as a result of the massacres perpetrated by Israeli criminals? The most recent of these were the one perpetrated the other day and those that occurred subsequently, creating a climate of tension whose consequences, long term or short term, cannot be foreseen.

Does it not behoove the Security Council to condemn this criminal act of aggression against the sanctities and rights of the Palestinian people? Is there no effective means of deterrence, no means of saying to the criminal, "Enough arrogance. Enough perfidy. It is time you desisted"? This is the will of the international community - the arbiter that establishes justice and gurantees it to those who deserve it, thus mitigating the suffering of the Palestinian victims and bandaging their wounds with human kindness. Yes, indeed, it is time for the Council to be such an arbiter and to see that the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people are restored. Events follow upon the heels of each other, and they are worthy of the full attention of the Council.

Proceeding from the realization of the gravity of these tragic events, and the resulting murder, damage and cynical disregard of the values and sanctities of the Muslim nation, my country calls upon the Council, as did all our sister Arab States, to condemn strongly the criminal act perpetrated the other day and to

(Al-Ni'mah, Qatar)

demand that Israel, which occupies the Palestinian territories, refrain from its practices, put an end to its arrogance and its machinery of violence and oppression against the Palestinian people.

We cannot but call upon the Council to force Israel to provide protection for the Palestinian people in the occupied territories, to respect fully its rights and the Islamic sanctities in Al-Quds al-Shareef, and to see that all this is made concrete reality for our bretheren in the occupied territories - a reality that Israel cannot disregard under any pretext.

In addition, we cannot but call upon the Council, to provide from time to time the necessary international protection for the Palestinian people, which is chafing under the scourge and yoke of occupation. We call upon the Council to dispatch a fact-finding mission to the occupied territories to examine the inhuman practices out there and to document the continuous violation by Israel of the Geneva Convention and of human rights and submit a report to the Council. The mission should examine the facts, document them and pass them on to the world Organization so that they might lead to dealing with the situation under international law and the dictates of the world conscience.

Protection of the population of the occupied territories from Israeli oppression is a duty of the United Nations and primarily of the Security Council. I have no doubt that the Council will live up to this historic responsibility and will adopt such resolutions as are dictated by the gravity of the situation and the threats that it poses to international peace and security.

Al-Quds and the painful wound are twins. God bless those who fast and pray at the threshold of Al-Quds to help heal its wounds.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Qatar for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. HASBI (Morocco) (interpretation from Arabic): I should like, first, to express to you, Mr. President, and the other Council members my gratitude for giving me the opportunity to participate in the debate concerning events in the occupied Arab territories, the representative of Algeria having spoken on behalf of the States of the Maghreb.

It is a pleasure to me that you, Sir, the representative of the United Kingdom, should be presiding over the Council during its debate on this delicate situation. Your experience and wealth of knowledge of internatinal affairs will enable the Council to discharge its responsibilities fully.

I should like also to congratulate the representative of the Soviet Union for the wise manner in which he directed the work of the Council during the month of September, when it held a meeting at ministerial level.

Once again, the Security Council meets to consider Israel's practices in the occupied Arab territories - activities that became particularly bloody at the Al-Aqsa Mosque on 8 October, when so many victims fell. This is yet another episode in the series of violations of human rights and of United Nations resolutions on the occupied Arab territories.

These events mark a further escalation in the criminal acts of aggression by Israel against the Palestinian people - acts carried out with increased ferocity, even within a mosque, which for Islamic people is one of the holiest places but is now, like all other Arab territories, occupied by Israeli forces, in contravention of the Fourth Geneva Convention.

These events are an indication of how Israel continues to defy all international resolutions, and in particular the Security Council resolutions that have repeatedly drawn attention to the fact that Palestinian territories are still under Israeli occupation.

(Mr. Hasbi, Morocco)

We denounce these violations committed by Israel, whose attempts to destroy Al Haram Al Shareef Mosque is part and parcel of its drive to obliterate the Palestinian identity. The Council no doubt remembers the attack on the Al-Aqsa Mosque in 1988. That attack was condemned by the entire world especially the Islamic world. The Islamic Conference, which was established after that attack, having taken into account the annexation of Al-Quds by Israel, assigned the responsibility for monitoring the situation to a committee headed by His Highness King Hassan II of Morocco.

(Mr. Hasbi, Morocco)

Morocco, which chairs that Committee, cannot but note with great satisfaction the interest taken by the Security Council in the dangerous situation caused by the tragic events suffered by the Palestinian people in the occupied territories.

I should also like to express my gratitude for the prompt reaction of several countries throughout the world that have emphatically and unhesitatingly condemned the barbaric acts of Israel on 8 October. Morocco, which condemns those inhuman acts, expresses its deep gratitude to the Council for dealing with those events which took place in the Arab occupied territories with the earnestness they deserve. We are all the more convinced of this since the Council has taken up this matter very seriously and is now examining the situation in the occupied territories in circumstances that are quite different from those which prevailed earlier. In view of the possibilities afforded by the relations of understanding between the five permanent members and the affirmative vote of this Council, we are certain that the Council will take the measures necessary to force Israel to respect international resolutions regarding the Middle East.

Mankind has become optimistic as a result of the unanimity of the Security Council. By facing up to all acts of occupation and all violations, the Security Council will ensure the credibility of the United Nations and will enable it to play its proper role. The Council should also safeguard the new international climate that has emerged following the end of the cold war.

Israel has rejected all peace initiatives and its new attack on the Palestinian people is a test for the international community to determine whether or not the Security Council shall be able to discharge fully its responsibilities, particularly vis-à-vis the flagrant violations of the principles of this Organization by Israel. The international community expects the Council to take steps that would make it possible to implement its resolutions, to put an end to

(Mr. Hasbi, Morocco)

Israeli occupation and enable the Palestinian people to enjoy its inalienable and legitimate rights especially its right to self-determination and the establishment of an independent State on its own soil. The Council has already adopted several resolutions which, unfortunately, have remained unimplemented, either because of the main issue or its ramifications. It is an extremely dangerous situation for the resolutions of the Security Council to remain unimplemented or for the Council to be unable to discharge its responsibilities with regard to what is now taking place in the occupied territories. We shall support any initiative taken by the Council to put an end to the Israeli policy of oppression and to protect the Palestinians. Morocco, therefore, supports the request to send a mission of the Security Council to inquire into the situation. We think that is the minimum action which the Council could take at this time.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Morocco for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Turkey. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. AKSIN (Turkey): I am pleased to congratulate you warmly, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of October. We are confident that, with your well-known experience, the Council's deliberations will be very successful. I also take this opportunity to congratulate your predecessor, Ambassador Vorontsov of the Soviet Union, on the remarkable manner in which he led the Council's work in September.

Since the intifadah began almost three years ago, the repeated acts of violence and repression committed by the Israeli authorities against unarmed Palestinian civilians living in the occupied Arab territories have been a source of serious concern to this Council. The Security Council has been trying, so far unsuccessfully, to find ways of ensuring adequate protection for the Palestinians.

(Mr. Aksin, Turkey)

It is a matter of great regret that all appeals to Israel to exercise restraint have so far gone unheeded.

Despite the international condemnation, the Israeli authorities continue with their arbitrary measures and practices that seriously violate the human rights of the Palestinian people living in the occupied Arab territories. The figures provided to the Council by the Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People are shocking and reveal the tragic dimensions that this problem has acquired.

My Government considers the violent attack by a group of Israeli religious extremists at the Al Aqsa Mosque and the ensuing violence caused by the Israeli security forces leading to the death of more than 20 Palestinians and the wounding of many more as a major tragedy. Turkey strongly condemns this act and calls for an immediate halt to all the harsh practices directed against Palestinian civilians. We are deeply concerned by the deterioration of an already explosive situation in the occupied Arab territories, especially when considered against the background of the events that have taken place recently in the Gulf. We believe that the bloody events of this week will only lead to a further worsening of the already tense situation in the region.

The attempts to suppress the rebellion in the occupied Arab territories by force and violence are bound to prove futile. Like all peoples, the Palestinians have a legitimate right to live in freedom in their own State. To redress the intolerable situation in the occupied territories, the Israeli Government must be persuaded not only to respect scrupulously the Fourth Geneva Convention but also to abide by Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973).

The time has come for the Security Council to take effective action to protect the oppressed and long-suffering Palestinian people. Such action is essential to demonstrate the authority and the credibility of the Security Council. But this

(Mr. Aksin, Turkey)

can only be a first step. Lasting peace will not come to the Middle East unless the Palestinians achieve their legitimate rights, and all States in the region are given the right to exist in peace behind secure borders. This should be our ultimate and minimum objective.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Turkey for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of India. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. MENON (India): Allow me to begin by felicitating you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the current month and to welcome you personally. The United Kingdom and India are linked together by ties of friendship and co-operation, which underscore our pleasure at seeing you in the Chair.

I should like warmly to compliment Ambassador Vorontsov of the Soviet Union as well for his adroit and skilful stewardship of the Council through the many long and late hours of September.

My delegation fully shares the sense of anger and anguish articulated by a large number of delegations at these meetings of the Council. The Security Council convened last Friday to consider the reprehensible measures of repression carried out by the Israeli occupying authorities against the Palestinian population of the Breij refugee camp in Gaza and elsewhere in the occupied Palestinian territories.

(Mr. Menon, India)

The human rights violations that came to light, the detentions and beatings, the demolitions and deportations, are in gross contravention of the Fourth Geneva Convention. The accounts provided by the International Committee of the Red Cross, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA), other independent observers and the Israeli press itself leave no room for doubt on this score. The details given in two communications from the Permanent Observer of Palestine, and in the letter from the Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People make a shameful tale of atrocities by the occupying Power.

Even as the Security Council was engaged in considering these developments, Israeli authorities, as if in an act of throwing down the gauntlet before the Council and the international community, opened indiscriminate fire on a crowd of unarmed Palestinian people in the Old City of Jerusalem. The only crime of the Palestinians, from all available reports, was that they had gathered there out of concern for the sanctity of the Al-Aqsa Mosque, one of the holiest shrines of Islam. Over 20 defenceless Palestinians were killed, and more than 200 injured. No justification attempted by the perpetrators of this incident can be acceptable. The Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries recently issued a communiqué expressing revulsion and indignation at the incident and calling upon the Security Council to take immediate and resolute action.

This action, essential as it is, will, however, only touch the surface of the real problem. The events that have warranted the Security Council's being convened are, unfortunately, an inevitable and recurrent consequence of the tensions prevailing in the region. These tensions, within a perennially explosive situation, are a product of the persistent denial of the legitimate national rights of a people, which had inhabited the land for ages but which were turned into refugees both inside and outside their own homeland.

(Mr. Menon, India)

It follows that the Palestinian people must be given back their inalienable rights, including their homeland, in order to defuse the explosive tensions in the Middle East. Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) already provide the acknowledged basis for that. The General Assembly has repeatedly reaffirmed the means for this purpose - namely, an international peace conference on the Middle East, with the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) on an equal footing.

The United Nations has had many a peace-making success to its credit in recent times. But the Secretary-General's anguish and frustration at the situation in the Middle East are apparent in his recent report on the work of the Organization, where he says that

> "... the situation in the occupied territories remains bleak, with little hope of early progress" (A/45/1, p.10)

and that

> "The Middle East as a whole continues to be the most explosive region of the world today". (ibid.)

The world has witnessed repeatedly how easily and rapidly the situation in the Middle East can slide towards the abyss of destruction, threatening human lives, societies, economies - indeed the whole world order. We owe it to ourselves, and to collective human wisdom, to take timely and effective steps to disperse the spectre of conflict, made even more ominous by intemperate action such as the one the Council is scrutinizing at present.

The Security Council has demonstrated during the last couple of months that, imbued with a spirit of détente and collective will, it is capable of acting with commendable speed and decisiveness. This gives us hope that the situation in the Middle East and its core question, the question of Palestine, will now at last be

(Mr. Menon, India)

brought to the focus of international attention so that a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement can be sought. The Palestinians and the Arabs, as indeed the people of Israel and the people of the whole world, deserve nothing less.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of India for his kind words addressed to me and my country.

The next speaker is the representative of Palestine, on whom I now call.

Mr. AL-KIDWA (Palestine) (interpretation from Arabic): My delegation has already congratulated you, Sir, on your election to the presidency of the Security Council, and has already thanked your predecessor. I repeat our congratulations.

As the Council prepares to vote on the draft resolution in document S/21859, and in respect of the communiqué the Council intends to adopt, the delegation of Palestine would like to express its gratitude to the members of the Council for the interest they have shown in the suffering of the Palestinian people in the occupied Palestinian territories, including the city of Al-Quds. In particular, I am thinking of the suffering occasioned by the barbaric massacre perpetrated by Israel in Al Haram Al-Shareef, in Arab Al-Quds, the capital of our State. I am speaking also of the repressive measures taken by Israel after the massacre.

The members of the Security Council have made a serious effort to deal with this situation. We appreciate this, and thank them for it. For our part, our delegation has reacted favourably to many of the efforts made to achieve positive results in the Council's work. We have complete confidence that the Council will be able to shoulder its responsibilities in respect of our Palestinian people and in ensuring that peace prevails and is maintained in our region, the Middle East.

We are also convinced that the Council, having succeeded in this task, can and should take other, subsequent steps to deal with important and crucial problems in the occupied territories and in the Middle East.

(Mr. Al-Kidwa, Palestine)

Having said that, however, we cannot but express our discontent concerning the way the United States - a State which is a permanent member of the Security Council - has acted, specifically, in attempting to block a rapid agreement in the Council. Also, the United States exerted a great deal of pressure to prevent the Council from adopting the kind of resolution warranted by the situation. There were, moreover, some who took steps which, in our opinion, overstepped the bounds of established responsibilities and practices.

(Mr. Al-Kidwa, Palestine)

This leads us to express our feeling of dissatisfaction with regard to the draft resolution under consideration by the Council. We consider the draft resolution to be inadequate; it does not reflect the necessary position expected from the Security Council with regard to our people - a position in keeping with the Charter and the traditions of the Council in general. We believe that it will not have the necessary positive impact that is required by the realities, especially in the occupied territories, in spite of the fact that it is expected to be adopted unanimously, which in itself is a positive phenomenon if taken separately from the draft resolution.

In any case, unfortunately, we do not expect Israel to bring to a halt its oppression of the Palestinian people, which still pursues its glorious intifadah, thus striving to put an end to the occupation and to recover its national rights, including its right to national independence and sovereignty over its own territory. We do not expect Israel to feel bound even by what the draft resolution calls upon it to do. This will inevitably lead the Council to convene a further meeting to address the problem anew. In this respect, we wish to remind the Council of its responsibility to take the necessary action in all cases, and wish to reiterate our confidence in the Secretary-General, Mr. Perez de Cuellar, to whom we wish every success in his work.

Finally, we wish to express our thanks to our brother Arab States and all other friendly States which have participated in the work of the Council, thereby expressing their condemnation of Israel and their solidarity with the Palestinian people. This broad participation has indeed reflected international unanimity in the area.

The PRESIDENT: As a result of the informal consultations of the whole of the Council, it was agreed that the Council should now vote on the draft resolution in document S/21859.

(The President)

With regard to the draft resolution, I have been asked to clarify the meaning of the reference in it to "the territories occupied by Israel since 1967". It is my understanding that these words include Jerusalem.

In connection with the draft resolution, I have the following statement to make:

"In the informal consultations of members of the Council which led up to the consideration of this draft resolution, the Secretary-General explained that the purpose of the mission which he would be sending to the region would be to look into the circumstances surrounding the recent tragic events in Jerusalem and other similar developments in the occupied territories, and to submit by 24 October 1990 a report containing findings and recommendations to the Council on ways and means for ensuring the safety and protection of the Palestinian civilians under Israeli occupation. He recalled, however, that under the Fourth Geneva Convention the principal responsibility for ensuring the protection of the Palestinians rested with the occupying Power, namely Israel."

It is my understanding that the Council is now ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Canada, China, Colombia, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Malaysia, Romania, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Yemen, Zaire

The PRESIDENT: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has thus been adopted unanimously as resolution 672 (1990).

(The President)

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. ANET (Côte d'Ivoire) (interpretation from French): In the difficult times through which we are living, with the Gulf crisis and the renewed violence in the occupied territories, the Security Council could not have a better President than you, Sir, the representative of the United Kingdom, to guide our debates successfully. Your sense of moderation and your flexibility, together with your profound respect for the triumph of law and justice, give us justified hope that our present debates will not end - as, alas, so frequently happens with the question of Palestine - on a sterile note.

I avail myself of this opportunity to congratulate and thank Ambassador Vorontsov, who so competently guided our work last month. My delegation would also like to pay a well deserved tribute to the Soviet Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Shevardnadze, for having presided over the Council during the historic meetings devoted to the Gulf crisis.

Mr. President, since the hour is late and since you have worked as only a great diplomat of your country could do, I shall be very brief. My delegation wishes to emphasize that with regard to any problem concerning the Arab nation, the commitment of its country, and of its leader in particular, does not date from today. Above all, I wish to emphasize that this commitment is not merely a circumstantial commitment. If anyone needed a witness to this, he would not have to go far, since here in this Chamber we have a former eminent assistant to General De Gaulle.

(Mr. Anet, Côte d'Ivoire)

This is why my country will continue to support every step which, in one way or another, will lead to concrete, constructive action through diplomacy and perseverance. Such is the way in which you have successfully guided us to adopt this draft resolution.

When it comes to maintaining international peace and security, a task entrusted to the Security Council by the United Nations, we have overcome our differences so as to examine steadfastly the ways and means of enhancing the prospects for convening an international peace conference on the Middle East, under the auspices of the United Nations, with the participation of all the parties concerned. Indeed, my country is convinced that only negotiations based on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) can lead to a just and lasting peace in the region.

It is obvious that the existence of a Palestinian State, with secure, internationally recognized borders and a Government freely chosen by the Palestinian people, as well as the existence of an Israeli State, enjoying security within secure borders, are the only guarantees for the return to peace in that cradle of the great religions of our time, namely, Palestine.

The rapprochement between the two great Powers and the peace plan put forward by the five permanent members of the Security Council have enabled us to take constructive steps towards the peaceful settlement of certain regional conflicts. It is the most ardent hope of my country that, in the same manner, all men of goodwill will lend their support to find a solution to the Middle East problem, which has lasted for more than four decades.

Thus, my delegation supports this resolution, whose adoption is the result of joint efforts exerted by all the members of our Council and of concessions made by all sides to arrive at a compromise whose essential goal is to begin positive action by the Security Council for the protection of the populations of the

(Mr. Anet, Côte d'Ivoire)

occupied territories, the first stage in the search for a solution to the Middle East conflict acceptable to everyone.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Côte d'Ivoire for his statement and for his extremely generous words.

Mr. AL-ASHTAL (Yemen) (interpretation from Arabic): Once again, the Security Council has adopted a unanimous resolution, which we had expected, on another burning issue. This was in keeping with the Council's commitment to the responsibilities incumbent upon it. However, I must say at this time that, had it not been for your stewardship over the past four days, and had it not been for your patience and your great ability to negotiate and to bring together points of view, perhaps we would not have been able to achieve such a result. Here I can say that the important role of the Security Council's President has been clearly highlighted in this crisis.

The birth was difficult, but the baby is healthy and sound. The resolution condemns Israel unambiguously and explicitly. The Council has endorsed the decision of the Secretary-General to send a fact-finding mission, and on its return from Jerusalem its report and recommendations will be considered by the Security Council, perhaps on 24 or 25 October.

We expect that this time around the resolution adopted by the Security Council will lead to concrete, positive steps. We see it as not just another resolution dealing with part of the problem in the Middle East but as a resolution that constitutes an approach to dealing with the entire Middle East question and coping with the question of Palestine with a view to restoring peace in the Middle East.

I once said that we can divide the history of the United Nations into two parts - the pre-Gulf crisis and the post-Gulf crisis. Before the Gulf crisis the United Nations was governed by the cold war, and the Security Council was almost

(Mr. Al-Ashtal, Yemen)

completely paralysed. At that time, Israel found protection in one way or another. But today, now that the Security Council has begun to exercise its powers clearly and earnestly, and the members of the Council have begun to deal with all questions and regional disputes in accordance with international law and on the basis of the Charter of the United Nations, peace will be the rewarding result, the United Nations and the Security Council having become the nearest thing to a world Government.

In the next few days, perhaps, the last pages of the Cambodian problem will be closed. A few months ago, Namibia acceded to independence under Security Council resolution 435 (1978). The Iran-Iraq war came to an end in accordance with resolution 598 (1987). A large number of problems are now being tackled with the newly found unanimity of the Security Council.

We expect this Council to be coherent and consistent in dealing not only with the disputes I have just mentioned but also with the conflict that was born with the inception of the United Nations, namely the question of Palestine and the Arab-Israeli conflict.

(Mr. Al-Ashtal, Yemen)

This resolution, which may seem to be just another in a long series of resolutions, has great significance because it enjoys the support of all the members of the Council and must therefore lead to other steps towards peace.

The Council has not changed all by itself. World developments have enabled the Council to exercise its powers. Those same developments will one day compel Israel to comply with the Council's resolutions. In this important period in our history Israel cannot fight those who provide it with protection from Security Council resolutions. Israel cannot impose its political priorities on others, nor can it invoke any pretext to shirk and evade compliance with those resolutions.

We consider the resolution to be a first step towards a solution. We should like to take this opportunity to express once again our great confidence in the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar. We have full confidence that the mission he will send to the area will return with a report that will contain recommendations that will lead to the adoption of a necessary resolution.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Yemen for his most flattering words about my contribution.

Mr. ALARCON de QUESADA (Cuba) (interpretation from Spanish): Painfully and laboriously, after lengthy negotiations and long discussions, and after having taken note of the growing interest expressed by international public opinion, the Security Council has at last spoken. It did so after the vast majority of the world's States had already resolutely condemned the massacre of 8 October and after many other groups of all kinds the world over had spoken out in similar terms and had urged the Council to take immediate and effective action.

Recently we have on more than one occasion heard statements about the beginning of a new era, about a new attitude in the Security Council, one that

(Mr. Alarcon de Quesada, Cuba)

would finally bring the Council to concern itself with seeing to it that its decisions - those resolutions adopted with the full support of the whole of the international community with regard to all the important problems before it - would be implemented and respected. This week has served to demonstrate that the doubts many of us have had and continue to have with regard to this rather hasty and overly optimistic view of the existing international situation are well founded.

My delegation voted in favour of resolution 672 (1990), first, as an expression of solidarity with the Palestine Liberation Organization, with the Palestinian people who are waging such a heroic struggle, one that will soon have lasted for three years, to recover and to exercise all their national rights to the full. Secondly, we voted in favour of the resolution because the Council has finally, after overcoming countless obstacles, been able to join its voice to the others raised in universal condemnation of the actions taken by the Israeli armed forces on 8 October of this year. Thirdly, to speak quite frankly, we voted in favour of the draft resolution because, as all of us sitting round this table know, there was really no other possibility. The Council could not fail to adopt a text such as the one before it - although even it, we feel, given the urgency and seriousness of the question, leaves much to be desired.

Some may wonder about the purpose of our endless nocturnal consultations, which have attracted everyone's attention to the rooms adjoining this Council Chamber. Were we discussing the possibility of our authorizing someone to use military force to ensure that the Palestinian people would be treated with the respect due them by the occupying Power? Were we discussing economic or other sanctions against the Power occupying Palestine? Were we perhaps considering measures to ensure that the Council's resolutions on the subject would be complied with? Did anyone mention the possibility of taking action on the basis of

(Mr. Alarcon de Quesada, Cuba)

Chapter VII of the Charter, or the possibility of considering recourse to any of the measures provided for in the Charter or of making a statement in favour of the International Peace Conference on the Middle East?

No. We were simply discussing whether the Council was or was not going to condemn what the whole world had already condemned and whether or not it was going to support the Secretary-General's wise decision to send a mission to the territory and consider the report that mission would prepare. In other words, we were discussing the same things the Council had already adopted in its resolution 605 (1987) of 2 December 1987.

My delegation would like to hope that in a few days, when it has before it the report we hope to receive from the Secretary-General, the Council will act - perhaps not with the diligence and effectiveness it demonstrated this summer, but at least with a higher sense of responsibility than it demonstrated with regard to the report it requested back in December 1987, which still remains buried somewhere in the archives of this illustrious body.

Mr. President, as I see you presiding over this meeting after having guided our work with such dignity and effectiveness through our recent negotiations, I cannot resist the temptation to cite a text from the literature of your country, a text that, quite frankly, inevitably springs to my mind when I hear all the optimistic expressions of the new effectiveness of our body. The text, of course, is from Alice's adventures as recorded in Through the Looking-Glass, and I should like to take the liberty of quoting a remark made by the White Queen to the astonished child in that tale, one that may perhaps remind you of some of the moments through which we have lived together here in the Council.

(spoke in English)

"Now, here, you see, it takes all the running you can do, to keep in the same place." (Lewis Carroll, Through the Looking-Glass)

(Mr. Alarcon de Quesada, Cuba)

This week the Security Council departed from the diligence, urgency and effectiveness it demonstrated last summer and returned - let us hope for only these few days - to its habitual parsimony and well-known calmness when it comes to facing the problem of Palestine.

However much we run or try to run when we are dealing with problems of concern to the third world - even though they are not on the agenda of the great Powers - we find ourselves in the situation described by the Queen to Alice in Wonderland.

In two weeks a report will be produced, and then we will see whether we are really in a position to act in a way that will earn universal respect and consideration and enable us seriously to consider that this Council has actually initiated a new phase.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Cuba for his very apt quotation from the literature of my country.

Mr. RAZALI (Malaysia): This watershed resolution is the result of many hours and quite a few days of negotiations within and outside the Council. In this regard, I would like to pay tribute to all concerned, especially to you, Mr. President, for your determination and tenacity in ensuring the success of these efforts.

This resolution in some ways is not the kind of resolution that Malaysia and other non-aligned members would have liked to come from the Council. A number of important concessions have been made, especially by the non-aligned caucus, in order to arrive at a general agreement. However, like other non-aligned countries, Malaysia's commitment to the Palestinian cause remains unchanged, and we will continue to persevere until the legitimate and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people are fulfilled.

Our support for this resolution was given in the interest of maintaining the recent spirit of co-operation within the Council and, above all, in order to enable

(Mr. Razali, Malaysia)

the Council to move forward urgently in a practical fashion in supporting the effort of the Secretary-General to send a mission to the region to look into the circumstances surrounding the tragic events in Jerusalem and other similar developments in the occupied territories and to submit a report containing findings and recommendations on ways and means to ensure the safety and protection of the Palestinian civilians under Israeli occupation.

Commenting on the substance of the resolution, I would like to take this opportunity to underline Malaysia's position that operative paragraph 3 of the resolution includes Jerusalem.

The whole world has condemned the use of deadly force by the Israeli security forces on 8 October 1990 in the precinct of Al Haram Al Shareef resulting in the deaths of more than 20 Palestinians and injuries to more than 150 people. It is therefore appropriate for this Council to condemn the acts of violence committed by the Israeli security forces against the Palestinian people in equally strong terms. The Council cannot do less.

For the Council this is a historic event when the United States, a supporter of Israel, joins the others for the first time in condemning in clear terms the actions of the Israeli security forces. This is consistent with the recent spirit of unity of purpose and action within the Council in upholding the rule of law. Indeed, the Council must be seen and felt to be fair to all. The message for Israel, which has repeatedly ignored Security Council resolutions and contravened international law, particularly the Fourth Geneva Convention, is therefore clear.

As of now the Palestinian cause will be frontally addressed by the Council in all its aspects. Beginning now, Israel's protective umbrella will begin to be steadily removed. Israel will stand accountable as fully as others before the Council.

Malaysia would like also to underline that it is our understanding that the

(Mr. Razali, Malaysia)

Council will take and act seriously on the findings and recommendations of the Secretary-General's mission immediately upon submission of the mission's report so that the Council, for the first time in its history, will be able to take effective measures to ensure the safety and protection of Palestinians in the occupied territories. That report must not be allowed to face the fate of similar exercises undertaken in the past. The Council must not fail the Palestinian people this time.

Further I would like to state that it is my country's hope - a hope I am sure many inside this Council and outside it will share - that this resolution will mark the beginning of a major international process in which the Council will address the Palestinian question, the heart of the Arab-Israeli conflict and unresolved for so long, in its full entirety and as a matter of urgency. Indeed, resolution of the Palestinian problem will be the key test of the effectiveness of the Security Council as we move towards a new world order based on the rule of law and the pursuit of peaceful relations as well as economic and social progress.

The Palestinian people must be given the right to enjoy the inalienable rights denied them for more than 40 years now, and they and their State of Palestine must be part of our new world order.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. FORTIER (Canada) (interpretation from French): My comments at this late hour will be very brief. First of all, Mr. President, my delegation wishes to congratulate you for the role you have personally played in bringing us to the objective you set yourself at the beginning of this week, which dawned with the bloody events we know of in Jerusalem.

Canada is proud to have co-sponsored the important resolution our Council has just adopted this evening. Every single word, every sentence of this resolution

(Mr. Fortier, Canada)

communicates to the parties concerned the eloquent and resounding message of each and every member of the Security Council.

(spoke in English)

This is the product of arduous and extended negotiations among the members of the Council. The negotiations which led to its adoption were prolonged and conducted in a spirit of compromise and goodwill. It is an expression of our Council at its best.

We have all had to compromise in the past week, and I know that those compromises have not always come easy. We should recall and remember that there are no winners or losers at the Council table this evening. At the end of the day we have adopted a very, very significant resolution which we sincerely hope will serve to advance the peace process in the Middle East. This is the common goal of the international community, which has now been expressed unanimously by the Security Council. This has been another good week for our Council.

We will be put to the test again when the Secretary-General reports to our Council at the end of this month. I have no doubt that our body will meet this next challenge effectively and constructively.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Canada for the very pleasant words he addressed to me.

Mr. BAGBENI ADEITO NZENGEYA (Zaire) (interpretation from French): The Security Council's adoption of resolution 672 (1990) specifically condemning the excessive use of force - that is, the use of weapons loaded with live ammunition against unarmed Palestinians - constitutes for the Council a huge step towards the recognition of the rights of Palestinian civilians in times of war, in conformity with the Fourth Geneva Convention, of 12 August 1949.

The Council's acceptance of the recommendation to request the Secretary-General to send an inquiry and study mission to the occupied territories confirms the Council's determination not to stop at condemnation but to go beyond it, beginning a new stage in its action, the primary objective of which will be the strengthening of measures of protection and security for the Palestinians living in their occupied territories.

Thus, we must recognize that intense efforts have been made throughout the last five days on all sides. We must note especially the efforts by our indefatigable President and by the Co-ordinator of the non-aligned countries; my delegation wishes to pay a well-deserved tribute to them for their perseverance and vision. Their efforts have made possible the compromise that the Council has just unanimously adopted.

My delegation, a co-sponsor of resolution 672 (1990), wishes to reaffirm its unequivocal agreement with the Council's decision to send a mission of the Secretary-General to the occupied Palestinian territories in order to examine the current situation, and to present its conclusions to the Council before 30 October 1990. We are certain that those conclusions will contain recommendations with regard to the appropriate measures the Council should envisage in the future to protect unarmed Palestinian civilians against the kind of attacks, harassment and killings to which they have been subjected throughout recent years by the occupying Power's forces of order.

(Mr. Bagbeni Adeito Nzengeya, Zaire)

At this time when the configuration of international relations has taken a new turn; at this time when such relations are characterized by East-West détente - although the crisis in the Persian Gulf is still of concern to the Council and the international community; at this time when many regional conflicts, such as those in Afghanistan, Cambodia, and other places, have found or are on the verge of finding peaceful solutions, my delegation feels that it is opportune for the Palestinian question and cause to be considered and examined in a new light and with new initiatives that could promote peace in the Middle East and achieve a comprehensive and final solution to this question, which has persisted for almost 45 years now.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Zaire for his kind words.

Mr. PEÑALOSA (Colombia) (interpretation from Spanish): At the outset, we should like to express our gratitude to you, Mr. President, and to our Co-ordinator, the Permanent Representative of Malaysia, Ambassador Razali, for your tireless efforts, which have enabled us to reach agreement.

Whenever the subject of the occupied territories brings us to the Council Chamber, a feeling of frustration and sadness fills our hearts. It could not be otherwise when we see that, after 23 years, Israel still refuses to comply with the resolutions of the Council and that the international community is still powerless in the face of that situation. That is why the resolution the Council has unanimously adopted tonight represents, in our view, a very important step. We hope it will be an innovative one in dealing with the question of Palestine.

Even though the resolution does not meet all our expectations, as a non-aligned country committed to the Palestinian cause we would like to believe that this is the beginning of a new phase that will commit, in particular, a permanent member of the Security Council that has traditionally maintained a

(Mr. Peñalosa, Colombia)

position different to the one adopted in respect to this resolution. This should be regarded as a positive achievement.

We have always condemned acts of violence committed against the Palestinian people by the Israeli authorities, and today we condemn those which caused loss of life and injuries to many people last Monday. My delegation once again appeals to Israel to comply strictly with the provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War. We reaffirm our position that the solution to the Arab-Israeli problem should be based on the provisions of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), which will thus become the pillars of support for peaceful co-existence between those two peoples. The occupied territories, including of course Jerusalem, cannot continue to be the subject of international disputes. An international conference on the Middle East, with the participation, on an equal footing, of the parties concerned should take place in the near future, and we should devote every effort to that end.

My delegation hopes that the report to be submitted by the Secretary-General's mission in compliance with the resolution just adopted will not suffer the same fate as the report prepared three years ago in regard to the same problem. Accordingly, the report to be submitted should be analysed carefully so as to enable us to take appropriate action.

Lastly, the situation created as a result of the invasion of Kuwait is different in its origins and development to that experienced by the Palestinian people, and we should not establish a link between the two. But it is true that both are the result of violent occupation and a refusal to comply with Security Council resolutions. Any formula that solves the Iraq-Kuwait problem should take into account the problems of the Middle East as a whole and of Palestine in particular.

(Mr. Peñalosa, Colombia)

We hope that the next time the Council takes up the subject of the occupied territories, it will not be to repeat everything we have been saying for 23 years, but rather to celebrate the prospect of an impending settlement of the Palestinian problem.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Colombia for his kind words.

Mr. TÖRNUDD (Finland): We have already expressed our first reaction to the tragic events that took place in Jerusalem on Monday this week. The use of live ammunition against unarmed civilians, even in a situation where public order is seriously disturbed, is inadmissible. The behaviour of the Israeli security forces on 8 October is a grave violation of international law.

(Mr. Törnudd, Finland)

The reaction to the shooting has not been slow in coming in statements both from my Government and from many others.

As the Security Council reacts collectively, we take great satisfaction in having been able to take part in the adoption of this resolution. Whatever the shortcomings in the text of this resolution, the most important fact is that the Security Council has been able to pronounce itself on a question pertaining to the situation of the Palestinians living in the territories under Israeli occupation. We welcome this achievement, reached under the impact of tragic circumstances.

We welcome particularly in that connection that the resolution opens the way for follow-up action in the near future. The report which the Security Council is now due to receive well before the end of this month should make it possible to address effectively the question of ensuring the safety and protection of the Palestinian civilians under Israeli occupation.

The resolution very appropriately calls upon Israel to abide by its legal obligations and responsibilities under the Fourth Geneva Convention. We are convinced that the Israeli Government as well as all others concerned will extend full co-operation to the Secretary-General in the implementation of this resolution and in the subsequent follow-up action.

We believe that this unanimously adopted resolution is a step on the path towards a peaceful, comprehensive settlement of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Mr. VORONTSOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): The Security Council's broad discussion of the situation in the occupied territories reflects the deep concern of the Members of the United Nations not only about the recent events in Jerusalem but also about the Arab-Israeli conflict, which remains without a settlement. The process of achieving a settlement in the Middle East has long been stagnant.

(Mr. Vorontsov, USSR)

It is important to note that Israel's inhuman actions have been condemned in statements made by members of the Security Council, by the representatives of Palestine and many States Members of the United Nations, and by the representatives of the Non-Aligned Movement, the League of Arab States and the Arab Maghreb Union.

The just demand that Israel's actions be condemned by the Security Council was, in our view, adequately reflected in the resolution, and my delegation voted in favour of its adoption. We have high praise for the efforts of all delegations, including the delegation of Palestine, which enabled us to adopt this important resolution. We are deeply grateful to the President, Sir David Hannay, for his very wise and patient guidance of our work on the text of the resolution.

In supporting the resolution, we felt that its key element was the decision to welcome the immediate sending of a United Nations mission to the region to conduct a wide-ranging investigation into the events in Jerusalem. The need for the United Nations to send such a mission was stated by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR on 9 October, when it firmly condemned the illegal action taken by Israel in the occupied territories.

We are convinced that the Security Council's consideration of the report of the Secretary-General on the results of that mission will focus on what can be achieved in the future to guarantee the safety and protection of the civilian population living in the occupied territories. We hope that will enable the Council to adopt effective measures necessary to that end, and to discuss seriously ways and means to give immediate impetus to the process of a settlement in the Middle East.

The unanimity we have just witnessed among the members of the Security Council strengthens our confidence that a peaceful settlement in the Middle East is possible and that in the near future it can become the reality for which we have long hoped.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for his very generous words.

Mr. PICKERING (United States of America): First of all, Mr. President, I should like to thank you for the leadership you have displayed and clearly demonstrated in bringing our work to a successful conclusion. Let me also thank the co-ordinator of the Non-Aligned Movement, the representative of Malaysia, for the understanding which they have shown in the process which has permitted us to come to a unanimously supported resolution.

My Government supports this resolution on the tragic events which occurred in Jerusalem on 8 October, and my Government wishes to extend its condolences to the families and the friends of those many innocent persons and worshippers who were victims of the violence on that sad day.

This is an incident which never should have happened. The Security Council tonight grieves for those lost and injured, condemns the acts of violence - both provocative and reactive - and reaffirms the obligations and responsibilities conferred upon the occupying Power by the Fourth Geneva Convention. Moreover, we recall and reaffirm, properly and urgently I might add, that a just and lasting solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict must be based on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973).

My Government is dedicated to doing whatever it can to bring the parties closer to a negotiated peace. We want to be clear for the record that this resolution, however, should not be misinterpreted: the Council's action tonight does not empower it to address any subject beyond the matters directly contained in this resolution. Most obviously and certainly, this resolution makes clear it does not address in any way the status of the Middle East peace process; nor does it change in any way the role of the United Nations in that regard. We expect the Secretary-General's mission to examine the circumstances of the 8 October incident and to report back. We look forward to reviewing that report.

(Mr. Pickering, United States)

On behalf of the United States and in accordance with this resolution, I should like to call on all sides to exercise restraint in words and in actions so that calm can be restored and the Holy Places of all faiths be respected.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the United States for his most kind compliments.

Mr. BLANC (France) (interpretation from French): I am pleased that the Security Council has unanimously adopted a resolution, of which my country was a sponsor, following the exceptionally serious events that took place in Jerusalem.

The Council had long been unable to take a stand on the situation in the occupied territories, including Jerusalem; we regret that fact. We are therefore happy that it was able tonight to reach agreement on a decision, and I want to thank all those who contributed to that result. I want especially to hail the understanding and political wisdom displayed by our colleagues from the non-aligned group, and the tireless and unstinting efforts of the President.

(Mr. Blanc, France)

No doubt this text does not reflect exactly the positions of all sides, but it is a good and solid compromise text.

In the course of our debate I had occasion to state that the Council could not, in our opinion, fail to react in view of the profoundly alarming deterioration of the situation in the occupied territories, including and most especially in Jerusalem. Hence our wish that the Council become directly involved in any initiative taken at the United Nations level to rectify this situation. This has now been accomplished, largely because of the resolution which we have adopted. The authority of our Council will be affirmed and strengthened by it.

The mission that the Secretary-General is going to send to the region must, in our view, allow the Council, on the basis of the report which will be submitted to it by the Secretary-General, to decide upon measures that will ensure the protection of the Palestinian people and improve their situation. I would add that the Council should be committed resolutely to a political settlement of the Israeli-Arab conflict, the urgency of which no one is questioning any longer - a course which France for its part has for a long time endeavoured to encourage.

The resolution we have just adopted constitutes in this respect a first and important step, which France welcomes.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of France for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. LI Daoyu (China) (interpretation from Chinese): In its statement in the Council during the deliberations on this agenda item the Chinese delegation strongly condemned the atrocity committed by the Israeli security forces in killing Palestinian civilians on 8 October 1990 and it requested the Security Council to take prompt and effective actions immediately.

(Mr. Li Daoyu, China)

Now, thanks to the persistent efforts of all parties under the guidance of the President of the Council, the resolution that was unanimously adopted by all members of the Council is before us.

I would like to pay a special tribute, Mr. President, for your outstanding efforts. We would also like to express our appreciation to the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the other parties that have demonstrated a spirit of co-operation. Although this resolution may not have met everyone's expectations, it has after all condemned the atrocities committed by the Israeli security forces and has put forward some fairly practical steps that can be taken at present. For this reason the Chinese delegation voted in favour of the resolution.

In view of the gravity and the urgency of the matter, this resolution of the Security Council must, we believe, be implemented faithfully and effectively so as to make the Israeli authorities put a prompt end to their atrocities and abide by the obligations stipulated in the Fourth Geneva Convention, thus ensuring the safety and the legitimate rights of the Palestinian civilians in the occupied territories.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of China for his kind words addressed to me.

I shall now make a brief statement in my capacity as the representative of the United Kingdom.

Any President who believed even one hundredth part of the kind words addressed to him would wind up with a swollen head, so I would just like to express to the members of the Council my thanks for the co-operation shown in the last few days. It would not have been possible to reach that rather unusual result of unanimity on a resolution in this area without their co-operation, their flexibility and their willingness to compromise.

(The President)

I would like first, in the name of my delegation, to express our satisfaction that it has been possible to adopt a resolution on this matter with unanimity. It has not always been so in the past and I think that whatever imperfections some on one side or the other may find in this resolution they will be compensated by the fact that it was adopted with unanimity and that the strength of the signal it sends is therefore much greater.

The signal it sends seems to us to be twofold. One is a clear condemnation of the events of last Monday and the excessive use of force that took place then. That was necessary and right. The second - which is a longer-term message - is that we wish the Secretary-General to help us find ways to improve the situation of the Palestinian people, who have suffered much. We wait now - not long - for his report and we will certainly not find it easy to deal with the recommendations, because the report itself will no doubt touch upon sensitive matters. But I think we have made a good start with this resolution and we will take the matter up promptly when we have the report.

I now resume my function as President of the Council.

The representative of Israel has asked to be allowed to speak. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. BEIN (Israel): The hour is late and therefore I will limit my words to a statement by my Minister for Foreign Affairs as a reaction to this resolution.

Israel regrets the Security Council resolution, which failed to condemn the cause of the tragic events in Jerusalem - an unprovoked Arab attack on Jewish worshippers at the holiest site of the Jewish people: the Western Wall.

It is also regrettable that the Security Council fell into the trap laid by Saddam Hussein and his PLO supporters, who inspired the riots in order to divert attention from Iraq's aggression in the Gulf. Such a resolution cannot contribute

(Mr. Bein, Israel)

to the efforts to restore tranquillity, normalcy and peace. One can only hope that the Arab extremists who fomented these riots will not view this resolution as an internationally sanctioned licence to further violence.

The PRESIDENT: There being no further speakers inscribed on my list, the Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of the consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 12.50 a.m., on Saturday, 13 October 1990.